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more secular nature such as land questions began to play a larger rôle, of course particularly once the Hindu-Balinese and later the Hindu-Javanese rulers appeared on the scene, demanding more and more land and taxes. Then the meetings were necessary to determine the attitude of the village and to deliberate how the *desa* could best protect itself against all such violations of its rights.

3

Village Ceremonies

The religious character of the Balinese village community reflected in its temples and its administration can of course also be traced in its various religious ceremonies. We have already seen that the village meetings are of a religious character. Korn rightly says:

> These meetings can, of course, be looked upon as assemblies, but it is better to consider them as religious gatherings. They are, in fact, accompanied by offerings, prayers, and sacred meals ...[50]

Reference has also been made to the *bale agung* as originally having been a sacral men's house and a house of worship for the clan.

The religious ceremonies recurring in every village are the anniversaries of the temples, the harvest feasts, Nyĕpi (the annual purification), and a number of other solemnities which we shall return to below. The temple anniversaries have been described repeatedly,[51] and Nyĕpi has also been treated in various places.[52]

These ceremonies demand not only financial contributions from the villagers, but also contributions in work: the women prepare offerings, the men chop meat, and the young people provide performances of dancing, music, and the like, usually within the context of the boys' and the girls' associations.

An 'ordinary' *desa* has an annual holiday calendar of some five festivals (or four at the least, and sometimes fifteen or more) each *uku* year of 210 days, and at least two others each Hindu year of roughly 360 days. The *desa* of Tĕnganan, however, holds ceremonies the year around.[53] The customary festivals in the *uku*

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527 year are: the anniversaries of the *puras pusĕh*, *bale agung*, *dalĕm*,
798 *mĕlanting ring pasar*, *sĕgara* or *bukit*, and whatever other temples there may be, with a total of more than twenty in some *desas*, leaving out of consideration the non-village temples. The holidays of the twelve-month Hindu year are Nyĕpi and the harvest festivals.

Many *desas* have other festivals besides or instead of these. The people of Sukawana, for example, must make an annual pilgrimage with the village's gods to the temples in the coastal area of eastern Buleleng and in the mountains of Payangan which go to make up the sanctuaries of the league of villages to which the *desa* belongs. In Pura Bĕlingkang people come together every year from Pinggan, Lĕs, Pĕnuktukan, Sukawana, Sambirenteng, Gretek, and Tembok. The people of Abang, Kĕdisan, and several other villages, the 'stars' of Lake Batur, go to Tĕrunyan each year for the great festival there. Similarly the villagers of the daughter *desas* Suwug, Bĕngkala, Klonching, and Sinabun still meet annually in Pura Manasa, originally the temple of the now-vanished mother *desa*, which is mentioned in even the very earliest epigraphs.

In Sĕlat (in Karangasĕm) there are two decennial festivals: *labuh gĕntuh* and the anniversary of Batara Angĕrta Bumi, the latter festival lasting thirteen days in the *pura bale agung* and seven days in the *pura pusĕh*.[54] In Sibĕtan there is the *puja charu*. In Pura Gumang, belonging to the *desa* territory of Bugbug, there is the biennial *pĕrang dewa* at the time of the *usaba achi*. An annual *pĕrang dewa* is held at Paksa Bali (nearby Klungkung) on Tuesday-Umanis in the week of Kuningan. This *pĕrang dewa* is reminiscent of the *bukakak* ceremony in Sangsit.[55]

527 In the *desa* of Timbrah it is the religious duty of the *kĕbayan*, who
782 is there called *ida bapa kĕbayan*, to breed four boars each year, each of them with a name corresponding to one of the four basic forces of Origin, Existence, Purification, and Growth. The boars are slaughtered ritually once a year. The village regulation of Kubutambahan prescribes in great detail the requirements for the different offerings to be made to the gods, the dates of the

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various temple festivals, and the celebration of the chief festivals *pangĕlĕm* (at which the ruler throws golden images of fish and shrimp into the sea at full moon in the month of Kapat) and *mĕlĕlasti* (when the gods are ritually purified in the sea). The village of Bungaya, together with neighbouring villages, has the task of supplying offering platforms.

Participation in the cockfights was compulsory in earlier times, with the proceeds serving for specific offerings. Such obligations are still to be found, for example, in the villages in the vicinity of the *desa* of Munchan (in Karangasĕm) for offerings in certain temples located in this chief village.

The village temples are also used for many irrigation-association festivals. One example out of many is the offering festival for irrigation water held in the *pura bale agung* at Sĕlat.

After this list of some of the festivals and ceremonies which must be held in a village context a word may be devoted to the basic thought behind such solemnities. This consists of the seeking of contact with the gods and the purification of the *desa* territory of certain magical stains.

In the earlier literature regarding Bali the theory is rather frequently advanced that the original Balinese knew only spirits and ghosts, and had first learnt of gods from the Hindus. Such a theory is based on insufficient knowledge both of the nature of the Balinese gods and of Hinduism, for the Balinese had not only evil spirits and demonic forces but many gods, while on the other hand the Hindus had many demons besides their celestial gods.

With a reference to the valuable outline of Hindu Balinism made by Dr Bosch,[56] I may point out that Hinduism came to Bali in two forms, as a priestly religion, particularly of the Çaiwasiddhānta sect, and as literature. The Çaiwasiddhānta sect had little respect for a temple cult and reduced everything religious to the contact of the disciple with his mentor and the layman with his priest. Moreover it had strong esoteric inclinations, so that its secret doctrine could only be imparted to those who were destined later to act as priests themselves. Hence the task of the Hindu-Balinese *pĕdanda* was not at all that of officiating in the temples,

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Holidays and Holy Days

On various occasions I have written on specific aspects of the Balinese calendar of holidays and holy days.[1] I shall now attempt to give a more complete survey of the festivals celebrated according to that calendar.

It should be pointed out at the very outset that not one calendar is used on Bali, but two, one Hindu-Balinese and one Javanese-Balinese. The Hindu-Balinese calendar consists of twelve solar-lunar months, running from new moon (*tilēm*) to new moon. The first half-month is called *tanggal*, waxing moon; the second half, beginning after full moon (*purnama*), is called *panglong*, waning moon. The two periods correspond to the *çuklapakṣa* and *kṛṣnapakṣa* of the Hindus. Whereas in India there are two systems of counting, one that begins the month with the full moon and one that begins with the new moon,[2] only the latter system obtains on Bali. Another Balinese idiosyncrasy is that the full moon is always called *purnama:* the Sanskrit word for new moon, *āmāwāsyā*, though occurring a few times in the older writings, is not to be found in the Balinese calendar, which only uses the abbreviations *pu* (full moon) and *ti* (new moon).

The months contain twenty-nine or thirty solar days (*diwasa*), but are divided into thirty lunar days (*tithi*), so that now and then two *tithis* fall on one *diwasa.* In such a case one *tithi* is skipped; this iscalled *pēngunalatri*, from Sanskrit *ūnarātri* (minus one night). In order to calculate the times when such a lunar day should be skipped, a complicated but highly accurate system has been worked out, though one using the solar days in the Javanese-Balinese system as its basis. In this way one *unalatri* or *pēngalihan* (for which the Hindu term *kṣayatithi* is unknown among the Balinese) is arrived at every nine seven-day weeks, thus every sixty-three days.

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(as has already been pointed out, the Old Balinese documents use the three-day system), and also in official Balinese documents today, is the six-day week, the five-day, then the seven-day. The divisions into one, two, four, eight, nine, and ten-day weeks need not be considered here, since they have no significance for the calendar of holidays.

After these brief remarks on the two calendars it may be considered which festivals fall on a Hindu-Balinese date and which on a Javanese-Balinese. First let us turn to the temple festivals.

The Hindu-Balinese calendar of twelve months is followed by the temples in the districts of Kintamani, Tejakula, and Jinĕng Dalĕm,[10] that is to say the northeastern and central mountainous sections of Bali. Then come the temples of Sawan and Buleleng, with some sixty per cent. of their festivals following the Hindu-Balinese calendar, and Tĕgallalang (the mountainous part of Gianyar, bordering on Kintamani) with fifty per cent. In all the other districts of Bali the Javanese-Balinese calendar is followed predominantly, in a proportion varying from sixty to a hundred per cent.

Roughly speaking, then, it can be said that the Klungkung–Gianyar–Badung–Tabanan area, thus the whole of central Bali, follows the Javanese-Balinese calendar, while the regions mentioned above, the regions where the influence of Majapahit and Gelgel has always been much weaker, tend to use the Hindu-Balinese calendar for their temple festivities.

Karangasĕm falls outside either of these groups, in that it presents a very mixed picture. There are many Hindu-Balinese calendar days, but especially in the mountain regions there is a remarkable mixture of temple and harvest festivals not to be found anywhere else.[11] The Karangasĕm calendar of temple festivals requires separate treatment, for which this is hardly the place. The festivals also have different names there from those they have elsewhere: *usaba* (Sanskrit *utsawa*), for example, which in the rest of Bali denotes a harvest festival in the agrarian temples, is the ordinary word for the temple anniversary in Karangasĕm.[12]

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Turning from the temple festivals to the other calendar holidays, we find that only Nyĕpi is now celebrated according to the Hindu-Balinese year, while all other festivals follow the Javanese-Balinese calendar.[13]

Nyĕpi is the Hindu-Balinese new year falling at the beginning of the tenth month, Kadasa. It actually comprises three days, beginning with the preceding day, Tilĕm Kasanga, the new moon at the end of the ninth month, Kasanga, when offerings[14] are placed at the crossroads. These offerings consist of two very distinct groups, those for the gods of the upper world and those for the nether-worldly deities. The celestial offerings are in this case all sorts of items placed on a very high platform in the east with a somewhat lower platform for the officiating *pĕdanda* facing it, thus in the west. These offerings are for the sun god, Surya. The magic line west–east (the *pĕdanda* is seated with his face to the east) is crossed, but not intersected, by a line from south to north at a lower level. This north–south line is the line of the nether-worldly forces.

The *sĕngguhu*[15] is seated in the south with his face to the north, while the nether-worldly offerings intended for Wisnu as the god of the nether world, or if one prefers for the *butas* and *kalas*, are spread out on the axis of this system. In this case, then, Wisnu, as the god of the north and the nether world, is identified with Kala and Durga. The offerings are arranged in the ritually prescribed pattern according to the four directions around the centre: in the east a white goose, in the south a red dog, in the west a yellow calf, in the north a black goat,[16] and in the centre a varicoloured chicken. At the end of the ceremony the hearth fire for the new year, holy water, and consecrated rice are distributed to the neighbourhood heads (*klihans banjar*), who then pass portions on to the heads of households and compounds. In Bangli this ritual is followed by a lively fire battle which is now played by small boys but in earlier days was undoubtedly fought out by members of the *banjar*.[17]

The next day is the actual day of silence: no light or fire is permitted, no one may be on the streets, and all work is stopped. The

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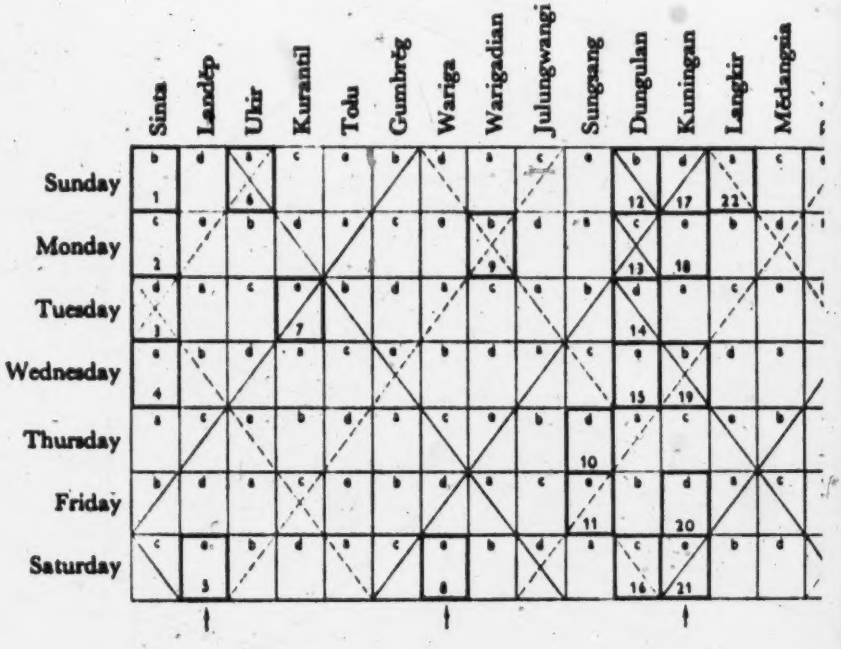

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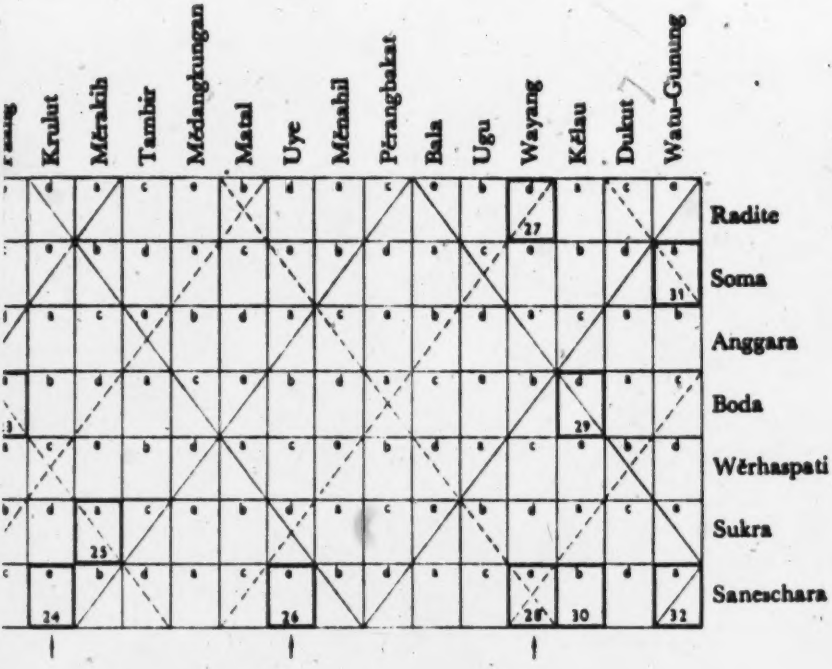

CALENDAR OF HOLIDAYS AND HOLY DAYS

Holidays

1 Banyu Pinaruh
2 Soma Ibĕk
3 Sabuh Mas
4 Pagorsi
5 Tumpĕk Landĕp
6 Worship of Batara Guru
7 Worship of Mahadewa
8 Tumpĕk Pangarah
9 Worship of Batara Brahma
10 Sugian Jawa
11 Sugian Bali
12 Descent of Batara Kala
13 Pĕnyajaan
14 Pĕnampahan
15 Gálungan Day
16 Pĕmaridan Guru
17 Ulihan Jawa
18 Ulihan Bali
19 Worship of Wisnu
20 Pĕnampahan Kuningan
21 Kuningan Day
22 Manis Kuningan
23 Pĕgat Uwakan
24 Tumpĕk Krulut
25 Worship of the *Rambut-Sĕdana*
26 Tumpĕk Kandang
27 Wara Chĕmĕr
28 Tumpĕk Wayang
29 Worship of Wisnu-Sĕdana
30 Worship of Sri
31 Soma Pahid-Pahidan
32 Worship of Saraswati

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third day there can be light and fire, but work remains at a standstill. At the next full moon, at least in Buleleng, the gods are purified at the seashore.

There are deviant customs in various regions. In Bangli, for example, one may go walking on Nyĕpi Day, but nothing may be carried, no errands may be done, and (in connection with the fire prohibition) smoking is not allowed. In Sĕmaon, a mountain *desa* in Payangan, Nyĕpi is celebrated in quite a different way: there everyone in the *desa* goes to the ricefields, where a sort of *desa* picnic is held and for that one day all erotic restrictions are dropped – the which is reminiscent of European medieval carnival festivities.[18]

All the other festivals follow the Javanese-Balinese calendar. The first of them, Sunday-Paing of the week of Sinta, thus the first day of the Javanese-Balinese year, is called Banyu Pinaruh (1). Late at night or towards daybreak the celebrants go to a spring to wash their hair. Then they proceed to the house of the *pĕdanda* to ask for holy water.

The next day (Monday-Pon) no rice may be husked or sold. Offerings are made to all the utensils and equipment having to do with rice, and homage is paid to Batara Trimĕrta, the trinity. (In some *lontars* one finds *Srimĕrti*,[19] which is perhaps possible if one should read *Sri smĕrti*, 'in memory of Sri [the goddess of the rice]', but it seems to me rather improbable.) The day is called Soma Ibĕk (2), 'full Monday'.[20] The following predictions are associated with the devotions performed on Soma Ibĕk: the person who does homage with his face to the west will make a profit in business. Whoever turns his face to the northwest will find good fortune; to the east, misfortune and illness threaten him; to the southeast, he will experience pleasant things; to the south, he will be robbed; to the southwest he will acquire health. (North and northeast are lacking in the series.) It is prohibited to sleep during the daytime on Soma Ibĕk.

On Tuesday-Wage offerings are made to all gold and silver objects and to precious stones. The day is called Sabuh Mas (3),

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'golden blessing'. The lord of all gold (and of brass as well) is Mahadewa, the guardian of the west.

On Wednesday-Klion of the same week Paramesti-Guru is worshipped. The *pĕdandas* pay homage to the *lingga*, as the symbol of Siwa. (This must be seen as a prayer for fertility.) Ordinary people (non-*pĕdandas*) worship in the household temples and then go to the graveyard or the temple of the dead. Among the offerings mention should be made of four strong drinks: palm wine, rice wine, spirits, and *sĕrbat*. (This last is a 'sherbet' consisting of unripe fruits, ginger, cayenne pepper, sugar, salt, cloves, and so forth.) There is an element of ancestor worship in this celebration, the aim of which is the strengthening of the human species (homage to the ancestors and supplication for descendants). The holiday is called Pagorsi (4), in which the words *pagĕr wĕsi* may be seen, though the significance of this 'iron paling' escapes me.[21]

On Saturday-Klion of the next week comes Tumpĕk Landĕp (5), a blessing of all weapons with holy water, which is afterwards drunk. On this day no sharp [illegible] may be used. Siwa is worshipped as Pasupati, whose name is also that of the finest of all weapons, the sword which Arjuna received paying homage to Siwa, was given to use in battle against Nivatakawasa.

On Sunday-Umanis of Ukir (or Wukir), Batara Guru is worshipped (6). This is done at the shrine of origin, because in Guru one also sees one's own *guru* or father, and thus in him pays homage to the origin of one's family.

On Tuesday-Klion of the following *uku*, Kurantil, Mahadewa is worshipped (7). Since Mahadewa is looked upon as the lord of Gunung Agung,[22] he is worshipped in the corresponding chapel, the *limas*.

Batara Sangkara, one of the aspects of Siwa, is worshipped on Saturday-Klion of Wariga as the lord of all crops. Offerings called *chakragĕni* (Sanskrit *cakrāgni*) are made to the coconut trees, and it is prohibited to climb in them. The day is called Tumpĕk Pangarah or Tumpĕk Pangatag (8). *Arah* and *atag* both mean 'to announce' or 'to summon'. On this day one notifies one's crops that Galungan is to be celebrated twenty-five days later.

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527 782 796 Two days afterwards, on Monday-Paing of Warigadian, homage is paid to Batara Brahma (9). This is done at the place of Ibu Pĕrtiwi (Sanskrit *pṛthiwī*) or Mother Earth, the *paibon*, in this case an offering column in the compound, not in the household temple.

On Thursday-Wage of Sungsang, Sugian Jawa (10), which supposedly has a special significance for the inhabitants of Bali hailing from Java, is celebrated.

The next day (Friday-Klion) comes Sugian Bali (11), when offerings of *tirta gochara* (Sanskrit *tīrtha gocara*) and *tirta pĕnglukatan* are made. The latter term designates water for purification; the former requires a more lengthy explanation. Among the Hindus *tīrtha gocara* is holy water which derives its quality from the fact that a cow has walked in it or put its feet in it. Hence it is described in the *lontars* as *tampak ing lĕmbu*, 'the cow's footprint'. On Bali this type of holy water is no longer made in the traditional way, but is consecrated by means of special *mantras* recited by the *pĕdanda*. The cow is no longer a sacred animal on Bali, though vestiges of Hindu cow-worship are to be found in the dietetic prohibition of beef for Brahmins and many other members of the three castes and in the cow-form of the cremation coffin. The sacred cow, which is sometimes identified with the magic cow (Sanskrit *kāmadhenu*, Balinese *sapi astagina*), must, incidentally, not be confused with the humped and hornless Nandi, Siwa's mount.

[262 778] What is perhaps the most important holiday, or rather the most important sequence of holidays, occurs in Dungulan. On Sunday-Paing, Sang Hyang Tiga-Wisesa descends in the shape of Batara Kala (also called Batara Galungan)[23] to seek human beings to devour (12). On Monday-Pon it is Pĕnyajaan (13), 'biscuit day': the women make biscuits that day. On Tuesday-Wage it is slaughtering day for the men: Pĕnampahan (14). The offerings for the *kalas* and *butas* which are made on this Tuesday are called *biakala*.

Wednesday-Klion is the big festival (15). Everyone goes walking decked out in his finest clothes. In Singaraja young people still ride around on horseback (and sometimes in dogcarts) each

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year. The offering festivity is celebrated in the household temple. A long flexible bamboo pole with offerings hanging from it is placed beside the portal of the house. The bamboo is called *penjor* and the offerings *sampean*. Beside it there is a *bale* for other offerings, with a carpet, sometimes yards long, woven out of yellow coconut and green sugar-palm leaves in lovely patterns. The offerings for the *butas* are placed on the ground beside it.[14]

In southern Bali such a *penjor*-with-carpet is erected every year, but in northern Bali only when Galungan falls during the waxing moon, and particularly at full moon. Such a Galungan is called *nadi*, *nyit*, or *ngĕdat*, the other sort is called *mati* or *raksasa*. Besides this celebration at the household temple, the chapel for the cremated dead, the women also take offerings to the graveyard for members of the family who have not yet been cremated. In Singaraja the anniversary of the village temple falls on the next day (Thursday-Umanis). On Saturday-Pon comes Pĕmaridan Guru (16), the removal of the last offerings.

In the following week there is a series of holidays which together are called Kuningan. On Sunday-Wage comes Ulihan Jawa (17), and on Monday-Klion Ulihan Bali (18), the return of the spirits of the ancestors to heaven: this day is also called Soma Pĕmachĕkan Agung. On Wednesday-Paing Wisnu is worshipped (19): among the offerings are scented flowers presented to an offering column called *paibon* in the gardens. Friday-Wage is called Pĕnampahan Kuningan (20). On this day no offerings are made, but the spirit is purified by meditation. Saturday-Klion is Kuningan Day itself (21), which is also a *tumpĕk* day. Offerings are again made in the compound and at the graveyard, with yellow rice (*nasi kuning*) as one of the necessary ingredients. The conclusion of this series of festivities, and at the same time the beginning of a new period, is Sunday-Umanis of Langkir, which is inaccurately called Manis Kuningan (22); the anniversary of the Singaraja temple of the dead falls on this day.

What is the significance of this series of festivals? Mention has already been made of the coming to earth of the spirits from the nether world, the *butas* (Sanskrit *bhūta*) and *kalas* (Sanskrit *kāla*).

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527 This interpretation can be found in the literature, for example in
782 the *Caturyuga* and in the *Usana Bali*. In the *Caturyuga*[25] the foun-
796 dation of the Galungan festival is attributed to Jayasunu, who elsewhere, for example in the *Usana Bali*, is called Jayakĕsunu.[26] His subjects were stricken by a smallpox epidemic, and he was advised by Durga to celebrate this holiday every year on Tuesday-Wage in the week Dungulan with offerings for the *kalas*, also called *dungulans*. The placing of *penjors* before house portals is also mentioned. In the *Usana Bali*[27] the foundation of the festival is brought in connection with the circumstance that rulers tended to die soon after having ascended the throne.

Alongside of that interpretation there is a belief that at this time the spirits of the ancestors descend to earth and reside in their chapels for a time, then ascend to heaven again. In this view there are four periods, each of five days, and each beginning on a Klion. On Friday-Klion of the week of Sungsang, the holiday Sugian Bali, the deified ancestors, the *pitaras*, are believed to descend (Old Balinese *lakuan*). Five days later, on Wednesday-Klion of Dungulan, they are given their major offerings. Another five days later, on Monday-Klion of Kuningan, they return to heaven (Old and Modern Balinese *ulihan*). Another five days later, on Saturday-Klion, falls Kuningan Day. This interpretation finds confirmation in Old Balinese epigraphs.

A passage in the second charter of Tĕrunyan reads: *angkĕn māgha mahānawamī di lakwan di ulihan*, 'on the "great ninth", in the month of Māgha, on the arrival [descent] and the return [to heaven]'. This festival, then, now celebrated according to the Javanese-Balinese calendar, was earlier observed according to the Hindu-Balinese year.

805 This is perhaps the place to say something further about the *ukus* and the *tumpĕks*. Nowadays the *odalan*, the *uku* year, begins with the week of Sinta and the day of Sunday-Paing. If this were really the original beginning of the *uku* year, then all three major systems of weeks ought also to begin on that day. Now the seven-day week begins with Sunday (Radite), as always, and also the six-day week with Tungleh, but the five-day week commences

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or it begins on Saturday-Klion of Kuningan, ending on the Saturday-Klion of Krulut.[30]

On Friday-Umanis of Měrakih the *rambut-sědana* (Sanskrit *sādhana*) are worshipped (25). These are beings conceived of as husband and wife who represent happiness and prosperity. In them one may detect Wisnu and Sri.[31] In the *warigas*, however, there is reference to a god Kamajaya, and mention of the fact that the *Gĕguritan Anggastya* refers to Kamajaya as the divine inhabitant of the *sanggah kĕmulan tiga-sakti*, the tripartite shrine of origin, after it has been constructed of sandalwood and *maja-gau* wood, and that Liefrinck also refers to *sakti kĕmulan* in connection with the *rambut-sĕdana*, is enough to make it clear that there may be a contamination of conceptual groups.

The next *tumpĕk* day falls on Saturday-Klion of Uye, which is called Tumpĕk Kandang or Tumpĕk Cheleng (26), 'cattle-pen day' or 'pig's day'. Offerings are made to oxen, water buffaloes, and other domesticated animals. It should also be mentioned that the men make special offerings for the game cocks, and the women for the pigs.

Sunday-Wage of Wayang is called Wara Chĕmĕr or Kalapaksa (27). It is forbidden to bathe or cut hair that day. In the bedrooms and beside the doors the thorny leaves of the screw-pine and the *intaran* tree are fastened to ward off the *kalas* and *butas* who want to devour the children. This ceremony is called *pĕsĕlatan*. Children born during the *uku* of Wayang have to be purified; for this purpose a purification wayang performance is given of the *Sudamala*[32] on Friday-Wage. The next day, Saturday-Klion (thus again a *tumpĕk*), Iswara is worshipped (28). Offerings are made to all equipment used for music, dancing, and wayang. Children born on this day must be purified by means of a performance of the drama of *Sapu Leger*.

On Wednesday-Wage of Kĕlau, Wisnu-Sĕdana, the divinity of prosperity, of economic and financial success, is worshipped (29). No business may be done on this day. Here, as in so many cases, then, the 'sacred' is both the exalted object of offerings and homage and at the same time magically dangerous. The Saturday-Paing

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of the same *uku* is devoted to Sri as the goddess of agriculture (30); on that day rice may not be threshed or sold. 527 784

Soma Pahid-Pahidan (31) falls on Monday-Umanis of Watu-Gunung. On this day women coming back from bathing may not place a comb in their hair, because according to legend a woman combing her hair[33] once brought her brother in temptation. Behind this prohibition there lurks a mother-son as well as a brother-sister incest complex: Watu-Gunung was both son and husband of Dewi Sinta.[34] It is also forbidden to climb trees: this prohibition is associated with the tale that when Watu-Gunung asked for rice as a small child his mother Dewi Sinta dragged him out of the kitchen and beat him. This dragging is called *pahid* in Balinese. Anyone who climbed a tree on Soma Pahid-Pahidan would also be pulled out of it, and so fall and die. 796

The Saturday-Umanis of this *uku*, the last day of Watu-Gunung and hence of the whole year, is devoted to Saraswati as the goddess of wisdom (32). Offerings are made to the *lontars* (by men only), and it is not allowed to read or write on that day. 527 782 796 784

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792 all four of the *pĕrbĕkĕlans* whose core villagers constitute the state-temple worship group. The function is hereditary in the family of Jĕro Wayan Rawi, who succeeded his father as temple *pĕmangku*. To indicate the special dignity of the post he is referred to as *pĕmangku gĕde*.

According to Jĕro Wayan Rawi, the chief deity of Pura Puchak Tiingan is considered to be the husband of the reputedly female [776] deity residing at the state temple at Bon. This relation is given expression by referring to the two deities as *lanang-istĕri*, male and female.

There are some ten chapels in Pura Puchak Tiingan. In appearance the most important of these is the one for the deity of Mount Pĕngelengan, who has an eleven-roofed *meru* as his residence. To the east of this is a *meru* with five roofs dedicated to the deity of Mount Bon.

792 For both temples the anniversary falls on a full moon: that of 527 Pura Puchak Tiingan on full moon in the fourth month, Kapat, 796 and that of Bon on full moon in the tenth month, Kadasa. It is interesting that the date of the Bon temple anniversary was recently changed: before that it fell on full moon in the eighth month, Kaulu. The holiday was shifted on request, since the new date was more convenient for a number of *desas*.

792 Among the villagers of Tiingan the belief is widespread that both 175 the state temple at Tiingan and the one at Bon still 'belong' to the descendants of the former Mĕngwi dynasty. Supervision over the proper maintenance of the temples and collection of the accompanying levies was traditionally entrusted to the family of the lords of Charangsari. I failed to verify which family might be meant, but it can hardly refer to anyone but the last *mancha* of Charangsari, I Gusti Ngurah Rai Pachung, who took his life in the autumn of 1932 by throwing himself into the deep ravine of the Ngongkong River. A son of the *mancha* was I Gusti Ngurah Rai, the well-known commander of the nationalist troops on Bali who was killed in the battle of Marga, in Tabanan, on 20 November, 1947. On the anniversary of his death in 1949 progressive nationalist groups organized a large-scale memorial celebration which

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536 at the *garuda mungkur*. The same sort of crown is also used for the
782 figure of Panji in the *arja* and *gambuh*. His diadem is gilded,
796 hammered leather set with drop-shaped pieces of mica replacing jewels. The decorations at his temples display the *ketaki* pattern. Descriptions are also given of his ear decorations, his breastcloth and other garments, and his creese. Above his breastcloth he wears a neckerchief of the *rĕmbang* pattern with black motifs on a grey-green base. His long trousers are of white cloth, as are also his skirt, his *lĕlanchingan*, and his *kanchut*. A girdle of the same colour and a loincloth of blue cotton inlaid with gold leaf complete his outfit. The *kanchut* is a slip of the *kain* which is pulled between the legs and tucked into the girdle at the back. The *lĕlanchingan* is the part of the *kain* that hangs folded in front. The creese is worn at the back, stuck in the girdle.

536 The *prĕbangsa* asks the *potet* for assurance that no one equals him
792 in the finery of his raiment, the which the *potet* eagerly gives him.
527 Then the *prĕbangsa* announces his wish to consult with his *pĕpatihs*. The *potet* warns him that the *dĕmangs* and *dĕmungs* are approaching, upon which the ruler assumes the *nĕhĕr* dance position, in which the body quivers with restrained tension. Then he addresses his warriors, urging them to train themselves in the use of arms.

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PRĔBANGSA: You *rakriyans dĕmang* and *dĕmung*, harken!

POTET: Oh *pĕpatihs*, hear the commands of His Majesty.

PRĔBANGSA: I wish to ascertain your bravery and strength in battle. Follow my commands faithfully!

POTET: So be it, do not resist the will of the ruler!

PRĔBANGSA: I see that you have made yourselves ready without delay for the review of arms.

POTET: Oh *pĕpatihs*, prepare to display your courage and manly strength in competition.

PRĔBANGSA: Now I am convinced of your skills.

POTET: End your dance, *pĕpatihs*, your courage and suitability for battle have been demonstrated.

PRĔBANGSA: Hear now my commands, and follow them faithfully.

POTET: There remains a momentous command of His Majesty. Follow it loyally.

PRĔBANGSA: I cherish the intention to battle with the ruler of Mĕlayu. Array yourselves in battle formation!

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The Festival of Jayaprana at Kaliangĕt

Roundabout August, 1949, the northern Balinese *desa* of 527
Kaliangĕt celebrated a festival the preparations for which had taken some months. Consisting of a series of ceremonies which took place during the course of several weeks and which completely absorbed the attention and energy of the village, the festival bore a character entirely different from usual ones. The purpose of these notes is to provide some insight into the origin and meaning of this festival in their relation to the general fabric of religious and social life on Bali.

The festival's aim was to celebrate an ordinary cremation. How- 771
ever, it developed into an event with a much wider purport, and 527
one gains the impression that a particular psychological attitude [764]
of the population in the post-war period seized upon it as a means 769
of expressing itself.

According to an extant folk ballad Jayaprana came from the *desa* of Kaliangĕt. The site of his grave is known, but nowhere does the ballad mention his cremation, and in Kaliangĕt the people had for some years had the idea of organizing a cremation for him. In the course of 1949 it was decided to proceed with this project. There were a great variety of reasons for finally taking the decision. The material poverty of the village was an important cause, as was also the post-war atmosphere in the region. But it was the genuine popular religion that furnished the material for the form in which the festival developed.

There is no need to speak here of cremation on Bali in general.[1] Wherever it is necessary for an understanding of the Jayaprana festival the component parts will be mentioned. For proper insight into the cremation festival on Bali, it is well to bear in mind Margaret Mead's remark: "Cremation ... is dramatic,

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but not a final solution ..."[2] This festival, too, was without finality. Begun as a cremation to be performed in order to obtain somewhat more blessing on work in future, and at the least not to be troubled by the spirit of Jayaprana, the festival concluded with the hero emerging in greater glory, and even being proclaimed a kind of saviour. In comparison with other cremations the project was, at the outset, simple in plan. The wholesale interest which it aroused, however, expanded the festivities, adding a quality much prized by the Balinese – bustle.

I

Introductory Remarks

THE FOLK BALLAD

The *Jayaprana* is a very widespread and familiar ballad on Bali. The Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation copy contains a hundred seventy-nine stanzas. The contents are, in brief, as follows: In the *desa* of Kaliangĕt a family is stricken by sickness from which all perish except a son, Jayaprana, who, as the sole survivor, is taken into the household of the ruler, the *anak agung*.[1] When after a number of years the young man's merit has made its mark, he obtains permission from the *anak agung* to choose a wife for himself from among the ruler's subjects. In the *pasar* he chances upon a young woman from Banjar called Ni Nyoman Layon Sari. He marries her, but the *anak agung* becomes enamoured of his subject's bride and plans to have Jayaprana put out of the way. Pretending that raiding pirates have landed at the extreme northwestern point of Bali, he sends Jayaprana thither with an army, at the same time instructing his *patih* to kill the young man on his arrival in the endangered area, Chĕluk Tĕrima. Although various signs give Jayaprana a premonition of what awaits him on the execution of the order, he sets out on his way as a man duty-bound. Not even his wife is able to restrain him from going to fight.

Arriving at Chĕluk Tĕrima, Jayaprana learns from the *patih* what his orders are, whereupon he reconciles himself to death.

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793 diverse remarkable features to indications obtained, in this way, directly from the dead Jayaprana himself. The influence of such a medium can be very great, for good and evil alike.

THE INNOCENT VICTIM

683 766 The innocent victim of murder needs to be treated with great care on Bali. It is fitting that a small temple be erected for the victim by the murderer or his descendants. As a result of the murder the victim becomes *suchi* or ethically pure, and it is his due to be specially venerated. The problem in the case of Jayaprana (and in the case of many slain *pëmudas*) is that the murder was committed by order of a higher authority. For that reason the family of such a murderer often returns to the matter of the murder much later, and endeavours to organize the cremation of the victim. The recollection of the murder is kept alive because whenever there are accidents great or small the conclusion is drawn that the spirit of the murdered one is still active. Consequently one day there must be an atonement.[8]

People found the murder of Jayaprana all the worse because, according to tradition, the murderer had not informed Jayaprana what the real purpose of the journey was until just before the murder occurred.

2

The Festival

THE DECISION OF THE DESA

527 769 In the opinion of the *desa*, contact with the spirit of Jayaprana naturally dates from the time that he was murdered. Certain it is that Jayaprana has occupied men's thoughts for many years. The execution of the long existing plans came about in this way. Roundabout May, 1949, contact was sought anew with Jayaprana by means of offerings and trance. For the hundredth time it was made known that a cremation must be held in order to enable Jayaprana to return to the *desa*. As usual these all-too-familiar words found little approbation. However, people speed-

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ily found out that Jayaprana's patience was by this time exhausted. 527
He loosed a stream of events which were clearly to be interpreted 769
as omens.

The *desa* elder who felt least inclined towards the cremation was 787
punished with sickness in his family. A special sign was that 769
villagers stumbled and fell time and again. A fisherman from 527
western Bali came to tell of a vision in which Jayaprana had commanded that he must be cremated. And so forth.

Thereupon it was resolved to consult the *balian* of Bakung. Eight of the elders were delegated. They concealed the reason for their journey from the *balian*, and when he had gone into a trance they carried on the following conversation with Jayaprana:

QUESTION: Who are you?
ANSWER: I am not saying my name.
QUESTION: How then can we know who you are?
ANSWER: I am always at your festivals, at the *arja* and the *sandiwara*.
QUESTION: Are you then Jayaprana?
ANSWER: Yes. I know that you are poor, but you must provide for me. Have no anxiety about the expense. I am sending you what you need.

This conversation convinced all the *desa* elders except one, who said he would rather think of his own cremation obligations. However, when he arrived home he was punished, for a dog bit his child, with fatal results. With this the last objection disappeared.

In order not to be dependent on the *balian*, however, it was 527
decided to have the date of the cremation determined by a fellow- 769
villager who was a deaf-mute. He could not be enlightened by anyone but Jayaprana himself, and he decided on 12 August as the date.

As helpers for the *desa* elders the *pĕtang-dasa* were appointed: forty young men who wore as a badge a white headband and who had to be available day and night to perform tasks.

Without any notion of the size the festival would soon acquire, [illegible]
the people tried to borrow money from the credit bank. Before the bank had granted the loan, however, it became apparent that

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it would be superfluous because of the help that turned up from elsewhere.

Not only did Jayaprana see to all the necessaries, but he also gave constant guidance to the festival by means of trances. As a result the influence of the *pĕdandas* was limited. They performed their ceremonies according to the prescripts, but they could not keep the festival within the bounds of an ordinary cremation. In this case they accepted without protest the fact that the festivities ultimately resulted in serious caste violations.

THE FOUR CEREMONIES

It was formally announced by the *desa* that the four following ceremonies would be held: (*a*) 1 August, 1949 – the 'awakening' of the dead person (the procession to Chĕluk Tĕrima to open the grave and remove the remains); (*b*) 6 August – the purification; (*c*) 11 August – the homage; (*d*) 12 August – the cremation.

Before relating something of these four ceremonies a description may be given of the site where the three last-mentioned ceremonies were held.

Several buildings were erected in the centre of the village, where there is a large cockpit. Everything was completely covered with paper and cotton cloth so that the assembly of temporary buildings was totally white.

The tower in which the *adĕgan*, the effigy of the dead person, was to be borne to the place of cremation had seven roofs, which is a caste privilege.[9] In addition a *padmasana* – the lotus-seat on which *pĕdandas* are carried to the place of cremation – was built.[10]

The cockpit was extended to provide a large covered space where the guests could deposit their offerings and where at the same time they could stay themselves. A kind of chapel consisting of three parts was built next to it. The offerings for the demons were placed on the ground at the chapel's unroofed entrance, where the small elevated bamboo platform from which the *pĕdanda* directed his prayers also stood. Then there was a covered part of the chapel in which those who had tendered their offerings worshipped and received holy water. This second part of the chapel adjoined

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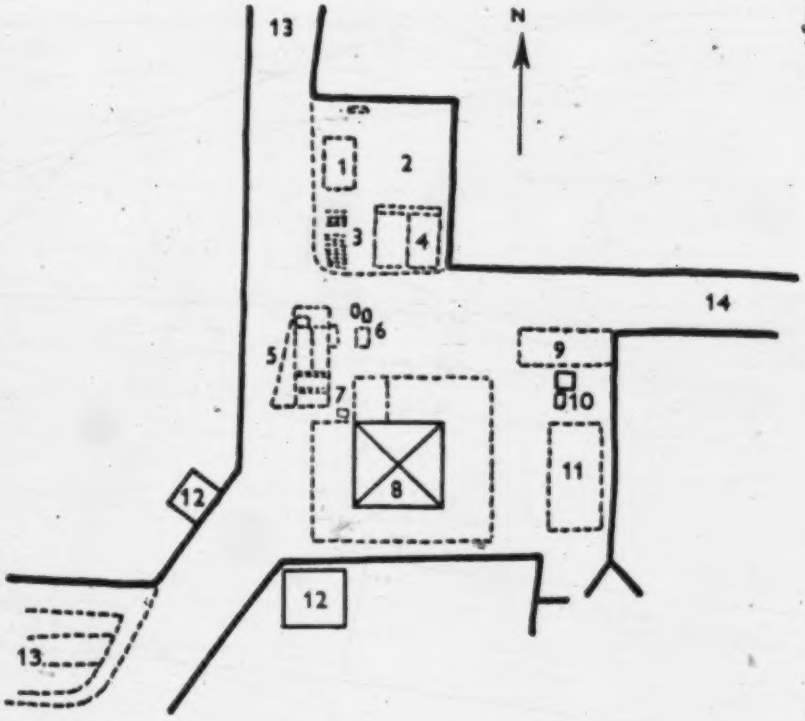

FESTIVAL SITE IN THE CENTRE OF KALIANGĔT

1 *Gamĕlan*
2 Equipment for the cremation
3 Cremation tower
4 Cash desk
5 Chapel
6 Altar of Surya
7 Altar of Batara Pura Bĕsakih
8 Cockpit
9 *Warong*
10 Signal block and water container
11 Shed for preparation of offerings
12 *Warong* for prominent guests
13 Kitchen
14 Entry
15 Exit

(Temporary structures are indicated by broken lines.)

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346 the niche in which the symbols of Jayaprana and Layona Sir
527 were to be found, the *bale bandung*.

769 To the east of this chapel was an altar for Surya, the sun god, and one for the deity of Pura Bĕsakih. To the southwest large kitchens and dining spaces were built; further eastwards there was a big shed in which the offerings were prepared, and to the north a kind of cash desk where gifts could be made. A place was reserved for the *gamĕlan* and for dancing, and also for the various palanquins and so forth. The cow served as the cremation animal.[11]

769 For several months there was great activity in Kaliangĕt. In the
796 first place, the offerings had to be renewed each day. Groups of
527 women under the direction of the *tukang bantĕn*, the woman expert in the preparation of offerings, occupied themselves with making the offerings for the entrance to the *desa*, all holy objects, the *kalas* or demons at different places, the deity of Pura Bĕsakih, Surya, the effigies of Jayaprana, the water casks and the places where holy water was drawn, the distant worshipping places, and so forth.

Then there were guests who, in continually greater numbers, came with offerings prepared at home. These deposited their offerings in the cockpit and then made a pilgrimage through the *desa*, beginning at the chapel of Jayaprana. The offerings prepared under the guidance of the *tukang bantĕn*, as well as those brought along by the guests, were made entirely according to custom: the daily offerings of baskets filled with all kinds of ingredients; the special cremation offerings, in customary fashion placed near the symbols of the body (and themselves partly meant as symbols of the dead person); and the offerings brought from elsewhere, built up high on a banana stem and carried on the head in a silver bowl.[12]

527 Once the *desa*'s intentions and its initial preparations became
769 known, a stream of visitors began which kept up until after the cremation day. A group of folk in a *desa* would conceive the idea of going to Kaliangĕt, then they would endeavour to get transport or, failing that, would resolve to go on foot. Scores of parties

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in trucks and buses visited the *desa* daily, but besides thousands came on foot, sometimes from a great distance. On arriving at the *desa*, they put everything in order again and the women walked in a line, one behind the other, with their offerings on their heads. Coming to the entrance of the *desa* they were met by a reception committee and were sprinkled with holy water. All the visitors were given a narrow white fillet to tie in their hair or around their heads as a token of unity with the holy atmosphere.

Arriving at the chapel, they read the Indonesian words of welcome written on a sign:

> *Kami pĕrsilahkan para pĕndatang*
> *masuk dĕngan hati bebas dan suchi.*
>
> (We invite all visitors to enter
> with a free and pure heart.)

First of all they took their offerings to the platform in the cockpit, so that it was constantly covered completely with silver bowls in which the offering fruits lay piled up, covered with basket work. The blessing and consecration of the offerings took some time; during that time the men handed over their financial contributions at the cash desk, where six cashiers had their hands full to receive everything. The blessed offerings were not left behind, but, as usual, were taken back home. Before visitors picked up their offerings again they went to attend the ceremony in the chapel, where from early morning to late evening services were held continuously. There they received a frangipane flower in which a stick of frankincense was placed so that it stuck up through the flower. Then after the stick of incense had been lighted, the flower was placed in the hair. During the prayers, however, the stick was taken between the two forefingers. Here also, offerings of the visitors were frequently presented and consecrated. The women were in the front of the chapel, the men behind, and finally the young people. The service consisted of recitations, chanted prayers, and the worship of Jayaprana, and concluded with the visitors being sprinkled with holy water. One sometimes

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also saw the young people using a *kretek* cigarette at prayers in place of a frankincense stick.

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The service was followed by a pilgrimage through the *desa*, first in an easterly direction to Pura Jaran Guyang, where the same service as in the chapel was held, but now in the open, and with the name of the *desa* from which people came announced, while at the same time the visitors smoothed holy water on their hair and also sipped it, as is customary.

From there the procession advanced southwards to the site of Jayaprana's compound and his rice-pounding block. The latter was used as an offering block: a white cloth with a slot was stretched over it, and each person who worshipped there offered a silver coin. The rest of the ceremony was like the previous one in Pura Jaran Guyang. Then the people went along the southerly *desa* boundary to Pura Prabu in order to render homage to the murderer, after which they found themselves back at the kitchens, where a meal was ready.

Then, by following a strip of linen laid along the path, they could go to the place, some eight hundred yards distant from the centre, where the holy water was fetched daily and where they could bathe in the pool. On the way there was every opportunity to learn what miracles Jayaprana was at present performing, what blessings fell to the lot of believers, and what penalties to unbelievers. The visitors went home with the obligation to urge others to make the visit.

From June till September a practically unbroken stream of people went on the pilgrimage in this way. Many Balinese even came over from other islands (Lombok, Java, Celebes) especially for the festival.

In addition to this daily ritual there were the four great ceremonies previously mentioned. Moreover special mention may be made of the ceremonies performed to obtain a decision from Jayaprana, the daily rites for the provision of holy water, the reception of special guests, and the officiating of the *pĕdandas*.

Each evening three *gamĕlan* troupes performed, the majority of them *joged* troupes.[1]

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THE AWAKENING

The ceremony of the bringing of the 'corpse' to the *desa* took two days. The interest was by then already so great that a procession of more than fifty buses and trucks full of people drove to Chĕluk Tĕrima in the afternoon to witness the return of Jayaprana.

When, as a result of long postponement of cremation, a grave contains no traces of the corpse, the *pĕdanda* is asked to make an *adĕgan*, an effigy of the dead person which is inscribed with the appropriate letters and serves as a substitute. A ceremony takes place in which the person to be cremated is 'incorporated' in the *adĕgan*.[14]

The grave at Chĕluk Tĕrima came into existence in the following way: a Balinese merchant named Desa Kĕtuh, married to a Chinese woman, promised a grave to Jayaprana on condition that he would make it possible for him to earn a hundred thousand guilders in a short time. At once he was favoured by fortune, and during the Second World War he reached his goal, so after the war he was able to honour his promise. At the first rumour of the cremation festival he sent the amount of twenty-five thousand guilders to the *desa*.

The head of the grave lies in a northwesterly direction. The site of the grave, which was ascertained at the time by means of a trance, is on the fringe of the *sawah* area of the Invisible Ones of Pulaki. The high grass that grows there in the rainy season may not be cut or burnt, as it is regarded as the 'paddy of Pulaki'.[15]

The incorporation of the spirit into the *adĕgan* is followed by a purification ceremony. At that moment the whole course of the festival was considerably influenced by a fortuitous circumstance. It was Jayaprana's whim that someone without a gold ring should be sought to assist the *pĕdanda*. (Usually the purification may only be performed by someone who does wear such a ring.) A well-known *tukang bantĕn* of the royal residence at Singaraja who was present proved not to be wearing a ring and was assigned to help. From that moment she became one of the most important figures in the festivities.

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527 On the way back a miracle occurred at the rock of Pulaki. Jaya-
769 prana was apparently assumed to have been associated with this place, and hence a purification ceremony had to be held there. Pura Pulaki is situated at a place where the rock-face rises perpendicularly from the sea, and the path is carved out of the rock. No water at all is to be found there. Now, however, the *pĕdanda* stepped up to the rocks, took a leaf from a bush, folded it like a small funnel, and pressed it against the rock-face, upon which there flowed from the rock fifteen drops of water which were caught in a beaker for holy water. Thereupon the purification ceremony could be performed.

Upon their arrival at Kaliangĕt the *adĕgans* of Jayaprana and Layon Sari were placed in the *bale bandung* which had been prepared for them.

THE PURIFICATION

783 The ceremony of *pĕmbĕrsihan* is an important ritual of purifying the *adĕgan* which is usually performed in the compound of a *pĕdanda*.[16] The ceremony for Jayaprana took place on 6 August. For this purpose a sort of bamboo bench on which the effigies were laid for the purification was arranged in one of the *bales* in the *pĕdanda*'s compound. The whole day was spent in making the offerings ready for the ceremony, after which the people marched in procession to the *pĕdanda*'s house. The festival repeatedly showed a tendency to expand at important moments, and hence in this case the ceremony was not finished in one single day.

In the late evening three people – a village elder, the *pĕdanda*, and the woman who had performed the purification at Chĕluk Tĕrima (a *mĕkĕle*) – were sitting together near the *bale* where the *adĕgans* lay. Then the *bale* was approached by a bent figure, who, without showing his face, walked under it with a stooping gait. His hair was tied up on the crown, like that of a *pĕdanda*. Noiselessly he disappeared again into the gloom. The three spectators sat motionless with astonishment, while a continuous procession of figures came behind the first one, all of them shuffling under

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the *bale* with the *adĕgans*. Thus the Invisible Ones of Pulaki paid 783
their homage to Jayaprana. Their visit lasted as much as four hours.[17]

In northern Bali there are all kinds of stories in circulation about meetings with 'Pulaki people', who also play a rôle in folk tales.[18] This nocturnal apparition will have contributed not a little to the equation of Jayaprana with the figure of Nirartha.

THE PUBLICITY, THE VISITORS, AND THE ATMOSPHERE

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About this time the bustle was at its greatest. Hence here is per- 769
haps the appropriate place to comment on the atmosphere which characterized the festival. That atmosphere was itself the thing that made the festival so exceptional, and in all the proceedings it had a certain decisive influence on the ceremonies. It reached its greatest intensity at the time of the *pĕmbĕrsihan*, the purification.

The rumour of the festival spread like wildfire over the whole of 527
Bali, and also reached the colonies of Balinese outside the island. 769
Particularly the bus and truck drivers helped to spread the latest 203
news day by day.

A single example of how news spread. A letter from Jayaprana came to Banjar. Everybody accepted this as a fact. Special features were that the letter had been written in a totally unknown script and that no one had yet been able to read it. The *mĕkĕle* said of it that she gave a twenty per cent. chance that the report was true, but if anyone dared to enquire, people answered with an irritated: "Aren't you of the Balinese religion?" The report was speedily supplemented by the rumour that the Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation had received the document and that it appeared to be a charter. Hence the Jakarta daily *Het Dagblad* announced in an extra on 28 July, 1949:

> Mysterious message on a silver sheet ... the contents [of a small packet] appeared to be a sheet of silver on which an age-old script is engraved. Once it was deciphered it appeared to be a request to cremate the mortal remains of Jayaprana and his wife ...

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527 A serious search for the charter finally produced the result that,
769 according to the declaration of the finder, it had been lost during
203 a shower of rain. But the story was not to be stopped. The temple priest of Pura Bĕsakih came personally to convince himself of the nature of the new charter, but when it proved to be unfindable he declared that he would have nothing to do with the festival: without the charter it was not genuine. Apparently this man felt that other tendencies might be involved, tendencies which had more to do with politics than with religion.

527 However, this sort of publicity was not to be scoffed at. Any
769 doubt of its 'truth' was fanatically interpreted as a rejection of the
203 Balinese religion. One had to believe, or one experienced the
829 discipline of Jayaprana. Hence it took only the slightest mishap to set the Chinese in action as well. They went to Kaliangĕt in vast numbers to pay homage and make offerings. The Chinese settlements at Kintamani and Kĕmbang Sari, both in Bangli, went almost in a body, out of fear that if they did not they would not be tolerated in the area of the Hindu *desas*. The Chinese, in fact, contributed not a little to the material success of the festival. The Moslem groups from the neighbourhood also took part.

There was, indeed, a fanatical element in the publicity. Not only a group of fairly purposeful youths, but also the simple, believing *desa* people grew vehement whenever doubts of the stories were expressed, and everyone who had visited Kaliangĕt was obliged to adjure the remaining *desa* folk to go there also. Besides that there was a whole arsenal of stories about the curse striking unbelievers and the blessings for those who believed.

The more educated Balinese remained conspicuously silent. They voiced no opinion of their own, but told such stories as the one that a member of the reputedly rather self-confident *gusti* family of Pĕtĕmon had said to a *pĕdanda* that whoever believed this nonsense was a lunatic.

Threats and promises played a large rôle in the publicity. But once a visitor arrived at the festival there was no further need for threats, since he was immediately overcome by the prevailing atmosphere. There it was *ramai*,[19] and for that reason alone it

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was good to be associated with it. The bustle led to more and more bustle.

From *ramai* it became *suchi* – pure, holy. For certain proceedings at a cremation one must be pure.[10] But in this case the whole multitude lived in something close to a state of trance for many days. Whoever had once been there could not tear himself away, or if he did he wanted to return. One could meet people who maintained that they had lost their 'soul', that it had stayed behind in Kaliangĕt. Many professional people left their work for days at a stretch to go there. The thoughts of the whole populace were for some time dominated by Kaliangĕt. No wonder that the *pĕmangku* of Pura Bĕsakih feared competition.

As a consequence the people not only believed that certain miracles took place, but interpreted the whole thing as one great 'miracle'. They compared the festival with a busy Balinese *pasar:* in Kaliangĕt there were no quarrels, no traces of theft. There were no dogs, even. No silver bowls disappeared, though sometimes hundreds stood together unattended. If one took the wrong bowl by accident, one was certain to recover one's own. However thief-ridden the *desa* itself was, and however much thieves were attracted by the bustle, there was nothing stolen. Jayaprana punished those who came with evil intentions.

The *suchi* atmosphere enveloped everyone. Towards the end those who directed the festival were going for days and nights without sleeping and hardly eating, living in a sort of trance state. They did nothing but receive visitors and lead the worship. And there was a firm conviction that Jayaprana would take care of everything. The festival, in fact, cost the *desa* not a single doit. Meals were provided each day for thousands of visitors, and each day the countless offerings required for the cremation were made, but there was never a scarcity. On the day of the cremation more than ten thousand visitors were given a meal.

People felt at home there and could not tear themselves away. When once the festival had got under way there was no holding it. New elements were constantly added to the ceremonies. As a

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527 769 result, the cremation, which had been scheduled at nightfall, did not take place until two o'clock the following morning. And after the cremation had ended people were sure that the festival would later reach another such high point.

[822] The atmosphere was symbolized by the white headband which everyone wore.[21] It was also defined by the fact that everything on the festival grounds was white. White plays an important part in Balinese tales, and is met with everywhere that there is talk of death and heaven. Here, white suggested *kĕsuchian*, purity.[22]

[755] Further, many miracles were wrought. People sought and found healing in the pilgrimage. The old became as young again. For instance, an old man came who was so aged that it was hard to believe he was still able to move by himself. Nonetheless he had come all the way from southern Bali, tramping for two days, and after he had refreshed himself he set out with rapid strides on his return journey.

Or another example: someone in his house at Gitgit, on the northern mountain slopes, dreamed that he climbed to the ridge of the mountain and on the other side saw a spout of water issuing from a northwesterly direction. A *pĕmangku* standing there said that the drinking water there was especially good. Waking up, the man set out to the northwest – to Kaliangĕt – and there met the *pĕmangku* of his dreams.

Food was always plentiful, thanks to the care of Jayaprana. There was a kettle which only needed to be filled with water to furnish an excellent soup. The animals were all tame and obedient. Everybody agreed that no such festival had ever been celebrated within the memory of man.

HOMAGE

527 769 782 The specific technical term for the ceremonial procession on the night before a cremation is *mĕdeheng*. Members of the family take part in it, attiring themselves as splendidly as possible. The ceremony fell on 11 August. On this occasion it was the aim to pay homage to Jayaprana. A great number of villagers took part in the procession.

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Many hours passed before the procession was arranged. Two *pĕdandas* officiated alternately. All holy objects, offerings, and the like which are mentioned by Wirz as belonging in the *bale bandung* were present.[33] Striking, however, was the absence of both the *dawang-dawang* – large paper dummies on stilts – and the long trains. The clown, on the other hand, was there. Probably an element of Japanese origin was the appearance of 'supporters' who were constantly occupied urging the public to cheer and clap their hands.

All the objects carried in the procession were silvered or whitened, even to the animal-shaped coffin to be used in the cremation. The procession was so arranged that a certain series of co-related offerings was carried by a group of young girls, women, or men, carefully drawn up according to their height, with the smallest in front. Moreover, each of these groups had its own colour of clothing – none of them white. In all there were some two hundred offering-bearers, male and female. Then followed the seven-roofed funeral tower, preceded by a wild group of men who held the hundreds-of-yards-long rope with which the tower was, as it were, hauled along. The procession went first to the south, then to the east, and after that northwards and westwards – thus in the opposite direction to that the pilgrimage had taken.

CREMATION

The cremation took place on the seashore, where there is a *pura sĕgara*, a sea temple. The impurity of the coast is there clearly emphasized by the presence of a leper colony to the west of the *pura*.

The whole morning long the guests were entertained to a meal. This day brought several surprises: the *dewa agung* of Klungkung appeared in order to take part in the festival, as did also the rajah of Jĕmbrana. A remark by the *balian* of Bakung to the effect that Jayaprana's family was of the *puri* of Klungkung had apparently been conveyed to the highest ruler on Bali, and he now appeared in person in order to honour his renowned relative. What the immediate consequence of this appearance was is discussed below.

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527 During the journey to the sea the *dewa agung* took his place on the
764 lotus-seat which was borne along in the procession.
769 The departure from the *desa* was held up because the *mĕkĕlé* made no move to start. When it was ventured to ask her why she did not set out, she said that the *dewa agung* was now in command. That personage gave permission for the departure and the procession left, arriving at the shore towards nightfall. There everything was arranged in minute detail. It was not until after midnight that the animal-shaped coffin went up in the flames, to be followed by the seven-roofed tower, the stairs, and so forth.

Then, however, a second cremation took place. Those in attendance went back to the *desa*, where, through a *pĕdanda*, Jayaprana was conjured up anew and was housed in an *adĕgan*, which was then transported to the seashore on the lotus-seat and there cremated. So it fell to the lot of Jayaprana, who had first without any explanation been elevated to caste membership, to be completely liberated as a *pĕdanda*. From that moment onward no one was allowed to use the name Jayaprana; thenceforth he was called Ida Batara Sakti Wau Rauh, 'The Potent Lord Recently Arrived'.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

527 The people then celebrated the usual after-festivals, nocturnal gatherings, and so forth. Each night for some time afterwards there was *gamĕlan* music and dancing. It was now a matter of the veneration of a *batara*. A notice board with the *batara*'s name was placed along the wayside. Gifts were constantly being received from people who realized with a start that they had been remiss in this respect. The *desa* projected great plans for building a temple. There was money enough. Half of the cockpit was partitioned off, well bolted, and labelled *kamar suchi*, 'holy room', which came to mean something like 'treasury'. There baskets full of silver coins were kept.

The notice on the roadside, however, was taken away after a short time. The interest in the festival cooled as people began to realize that to identify Jayaprana with Pĕdanda Wau Rauh was a very risky undertaking, and possibly also as the political side of

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the matter became clear. Some people, in fact, forecast the extinction of the fervour on other grounds.

3

The Metamorphosis of Jayaprana

No one has disputed Kaliangĕt's proprietary rights to Jayaprana. During the festival, however, the hero underwent a rapid metamorphosis. How the festival gave rise to this metamorphosis is as yet not at all clear. Some of these points, and the consequences of the metamorphosis, may be discussed here.

The most astounding event was the revelation as Wau Rauh. Pĕdanda Nirartha or Wau Rauh, 'The Recently Arrived', is a well-known figure on Bali. He may be considered the embodiment of the influence of Majapahit.[24] His name is traditionally connected with Pulaki,[25] and the thought of identification will no doubt have arisen because Jayaprana tarried in the Pulaki area. The more so, as for the *desa* people (and not only those who are readers of *lontars*) both Wau Rauh and Pulaki would seem to be living traditions. Especially since the First World War, Pulaki, so it is said, has repeatedly attested to his existence, quite independently of the Jayaprana tradition. For this reason a number of themes which are in circulation are not to be found in the *lontars*. There is also the statement of the *balian* of Bakung mentioned earlier.

The Jayaprana tale also had possibilities for a quite different development which found its expression in Kaliangĕt. Here was a loyal subject who was treacherously murdered by his prince, moreover out of jealousy, and after he had rendered faithful service.[26] The names of the hero and his wife are very fitting: Jayaprana can be rendered as 'The Victorious Soul' and Layon Sari as 'The Holy Dead One'.

At a time when the memory of the slain and missing *pĕmudas* was still very much alive, when caring for the bodies of those who fell in the resistance struggle was not without danger, and when it had already penetrated deeply into the popular consciousness that

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a rajah as by a Communist leader, provided use is made of a knowledge of present-day psychological conditions. As early as during the war the young men learnt how to use the trance for their own struggle and 'besought' *pĕdandas* to bless their arms.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the history of Jayaprana was agreed upon in the most incalculable manner by means of trances in the old-fashioned style. Pronouncements were accepted unconditionally, the more so because the persons in trance were strangers who could not be suspected, even when they were not in a trance, of riding particular hobby-horses. Kaliangĕt threw itself with complete abandon into the adventure.[27]

Great influence must be attributed to the *mĕkĕle*. This woman, at the outset unknown in Kaliangĕt, became the principal personage. She did not take part in the usual trance form; she was, however, continually in a state of mild trance. Her word was law and her authority held everywhere. When she felt that Jayaprana was fatigued by all the worship, devotions in the chapel were suspended and the *gamĕlan* was obliged to be silent. When water was drawn from the spring and it appeared that she had not come along, the procession stopped and returned first to fetch her.

During the peak periods she was constantly to be found in the corpse chapel, where she blessed the offerings and the praying crowds. People quickly ascribed curative powers to her, and later she was always included in any number of ceremonies. Even after the festival people went to her house to visit her with requests for medicines and help.

The remarkable thing is that the *mĕkĕle* herself, even during the festival, continued to feel uncertain inwardly, and that she expressed criticism of the fact that the visitors spent thousands of guilders on offerings which would be spoilt by the time they returned home with them after their journey:

> The gods cannot approve of this; in the first place many people are going hungry, and in the second, it often smells already when it is offered to the gods. There are many people who incur debts in order to come here, and that should not be allowed.

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4

The Historicity of the Tradition

Neither the supernatural features in the Jayaprana ballad nor the fact that the subject is a general theme in many stories known to us proves that the whole of the ballad is based upon fantasy. It will, however, probably never be possible to authenticate the underlying historicity of the facts related in it. Both Kaliangĕt and Banjar are mentioned in the ballad, and such a drama of the murder of a faithful servant can have been enacted there, as it can anywhere else.

Interesting, however, is the endeavour on different sides to seek evidence in the modern sense, and the marked need of such evidence which that endeavour demonstrates.

Some of the items serving as evidence may be listed here. It was said that the names were of course symbolic ones, only given after death to people whose proper names were no longer known. There were no true descendants of Jayaprana, though the *desa* elder took the family to be his own. But stories were concentrated on the descendants of the *anak agung* and of the *patih* who had Jayaprana's death on their consciences.

It was said that the family of the *patih* would have liked to take part in the cremation, but that the *desa* had refused to consider the possibility; that the funds offered by the family disappeared without a trace; and that the car in which the family came had met with an accident on the journey home.

The family of the *anak agung* also put in an appearance in the rumours. This family has come down in the world, and now lives in Sukawati in southern Bali. There, too, there were stories of punishment by Jayaprana, but the family proved to be unfindable.

Furthermore, it was said that the name of Pura Prabu indicates that once there must have been a *puri* in Kaliangĕt, that Pura Jaran Guyang was founded on the spot where the *anak agung*'s horse fell in the mud, and that a learned gentleman called 'Stein' had discovered the foundations of the old palace in the bed of the

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river (and had immediately taken them along with him).[28] The charter story also did yeoman service as historical evidence.

5

Parallel Movements

A certain amount of comparative material is to be found in Bateson's article "An Old Temple and a New Myth", and more is provided by three movements in northern Bali about which, so far as I know, nothing has been written.

Bateson describes the ceremonial contact between the villages of Bayung Gĕde and Katung. A *pĕmangku* in a trance discovered that a goddess in Bayung is the mother of a god in Katung. Hence a procession was organized, so that the son might visit his mother. During the visit both the *pĕmangku* and the female *balian* fell in a state of trance. In their utterances in the trance the mythical relation between the divinities was revealed, and this led the community to repair an old, abandoned temple, Pura Chĕkandik. Later there was a special ceremony in the temple at Bayung to ask questions of the gods regarding Pura Chĕkandik. During the ceremony the *balian* again fell in a trance and, using two methods of prophecy, described the plan of the temple and set the date for its anniversary festival or *odalan*.[29]

Reports from northern Bali also point towards the existence of several more or less parallel movements which do not fall under the category of generally occurring phenomena of *desa* religion. About 1924 there is reported to have been a huge religious movement in Kubutambahan, in northern Bali. There an enormous fish was washed up, the like of which had never been seen. As a consequence a worship movement came into being. According to reports it was believed that the fish brought a special message from a *batara* who was approachable through a trance. No disbelief was tolerated, for the fish was itself a *batara*. In the course of time the movement subsided noiselessly.

Not long after the capitulation of Japan and the return of Dutch power on Bali a deer came running into the village of Bubunan.

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6

Final Remarks

527 Though the festival of Jayaprana united the whole of Bali, it is nevertheless clear that in it there were quite divergent tendencies at work, tendencies which indicate that Balinese society is in a period of transition. The Balinese element, however, is absolutely dominant. On all sorts of occasions it becomes apparent that whenever the traditional, unalloyed Balinese ceremonies, festivals, and (above all) convivial gatherings are held, the more modern minds also revel heart and soul in that world for a moment. To separate the old world and the new would be to give a wrong impression of the situation. Besides, many signs indicate that the old world no longer lives on undisturbed.

This is most forcibly the case as regards the nationalistic interpretation. The people have gradually slipped from the old ways into a more modern state of mind and conception of the true function of religion. Therefore the decisive factor in this respect will be: who will ultimately be able to guide the Balinese youth in nationalistic and religious matters?

All kinds of outside influences can be detected, influences which have already penetrated far into the *desa* sphere. Even before the war many Balinese had delved deeply into modern Western literature and learning, and the knowledge they thus acquired is now finding its echo in the *desa*. It is difficult to substantiate, but it is certainly not unthinkable that the worship in a kind of chapel, the concentration of the whole divine world in Jayaprana, the demand for surrender and faith, and the conception of Jayaprana as a saviour, are themselves elements strongly under the influence of Islam and Christianity.

The identification with Wau Rauh seems somewhat too 'licentious' to be able to live long. Possibly a festival on a much smaller scale will be held annually to the memory of the new *batara;* meanwhile the popular ballad, the new god, and the true Pĕdanda Wau Rauh will continue their existence as if nothing had happened.

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Appendix

The Procession

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788 The moment for the procession to be arranged was announced by the beating of the *kulkul*, the wooden signal block. It took a good three-quarters of an hour before people had succeeded in drawing up the procession in the right order.

First came a man who carried a *payong*, a parasol. Next a *gamélan gong*, the instruments of which were carried on poles with the musicians walking besides their instruments. (Usually the *gamélan* which accompanies a procession is of a very simple composition, and that was also the case here. Only a few instruments marked the melody, while most of the musicians played a kind of *chengcheng*, two copper cymbals. One or two large gongs provided a firm background to the tinny noise with their deep, sombre tone.)

The clown, who cut all kinds of capers with a carrying-pole laden with durian fruit.

Two groups of twelve female offering-bearers in *kébayas* and matching sarongs, the smallest in each group walking in front, followed by the next smallest, and so forth.

Six men with a palanquin on which there were three offerings.

Two lance bearers.

A bearer with a white banner.

Eleven bearers of *rérontek*, short bamboo staves.

Three pikemen.

Next came the contents of the *bale bandung:*

Two bearers with *payongs*.

Two bearers with a bird of paradise.

Fifteen bearers with diverse offerings, the effigies, the heap of *kains*, the creese, and so forth.

Eight bearers, two with spears and six with *payongs*.

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Eight women with various objects: a piece of wood, a glass tankard, a silver lion, a brass tray with the requisites for making betel, effigies. 527 788

Twelve boys, ranging from short to tall, magnificently clad, four of them with creeses.

Four small boys in festive array.

Ten young girls, richly adorned with gold.

Ninety-four women and girls in festive dress.

Several hundred men for the white *bade*, which was carried with a great deal of noise.

A second *gamĕlan* brought up the procession. (This *gamĕlan* accompanying a procession also performs with other types of pageants, for example the carrying of the household gods to the bathing place, and so forth. The *gamĕlan gambang* is generally used at cremations in northern Bali, but I did not hear it at Kaliangĕt.)

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desa of Ngis. The *pura anyĕr* or 'new temple', the residence of Batara Dalĕm Pĕngastulan, to the north of the *pura pusĕh* in the woods, is likewise a place of worship for persons from Ngis, as is the *pura pusĕh*.

The *desa* also has several bathing places, of which the *kaja-kauh* one and the one in the Pandĕk River are of importance from a religious point of view. The pen for the sacrificial buffaloes is beside the *kaja-kauh* bathing place.

THE BANJAR

The second territorial legal community is the *banjar*, which in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan is not an association competing with the *desa* in importance, as it is in the rest of southern Bali, but on the contrary is largely subordinated to the *desa* and in its service. Within Tĕnganan proper there are three *banjars*, Kauh, Tĕngah, and Pande. The *banjar* of Tĕngah is divided into two wards, Tĕngah Kĕlodan and Tĕngah Kajanan. The boundaries are determined by the *desa* sidestreets. Whereas the *desa* has the form of an association with a varying but restricted number of members, the *banjar* includes all inhabitants.

The task of the *banjar*, like that of the *desa*, is partly religious and partly secular. The *banjars* must see to it that the great *usaba* festivals of the *desa* take place in an orderly way, and in that regard they must follow all the commands of the *desa*. Moreover the *banjars* make their own offerings in the *bales banjar*, which are not assembly halls as in the rest of southern Bali, since the *banjars* do not hold meetings in the village proper.

Other tasks of the *banjars* are the cleansing of the *desa*, especially the water conduits (the whole *desa* is cleaned up for the *usaba* in the month of Kalima) and the maintenance of the streets and inclines. The proponents of the theory that the *banjar* was originally nothing more nor less than a cremation association find no support for their hypothesis in Karangasĕm, where there are a large number of *banjars* with members who do not practise cremation. The property of the *banjars* consists of their buildings, offering requisites, and small sums in cash.

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243 782 312 bers goes to the holy sources of water such as Lake Batur, or Besakih in the Gunung Agung. They take offerings with them to gain the goodwill of the deities of the lake or of the sacred spring. Some water is brought back in a bamboo container (*sudjang*) wrapped in a new cloth and hung with strings of *kepeng*, topped by a bunch of beautiful mottled red and green *andong* leaves for decoration.

At the return of the expedition the *sudjang* is deposited on an altar in the temple of the *subak*. It is believed that the deities of

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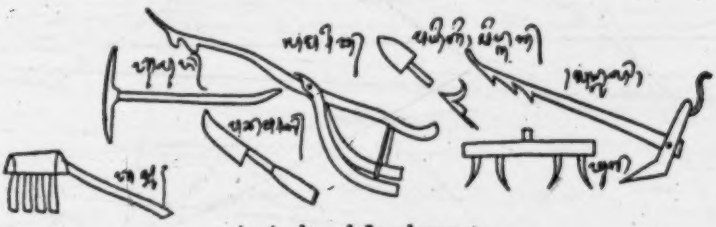

Agricultural Implements

the holy water are embodied in the container, and a feast (*mapag*) is given in honour of the divine guests. To entertain them so that they will not leave, the *subak* members perform dances and burn incense in braziers. The fields are sprinkled with holy water and the rest is poured into the common canal of the *subak* so that all the fields may benefit by it. The feast over, the necessary repairs are made, with more offerings so that the water will flow through the proper channels. Then the water is let in to flood the dry soil, and all *subak* members meet again to take a vow not to steal from one another. The land is cleansed with a great offering to the evil spirits and cockfights are staged to satisfy their thirst for blood.

243 527 541 When planting-time arrives, the land is ploughed over and over again, and harrowed to incorporate with the soil the weeds and rice straw that serve as fertilizer. In some places the land is effectively ploughed, in a spirit of festivity and sport, in great bull races (*megrumbungan*) held before a new crop is planted. The

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expense involved in entertaining the many guests with a banquet has made the bull races rare nowadays, but they are still to be seen in North Bali, where there are many rich peasants. Besides the amusement derived from the race, the chance for gambling, and the utilitarian ploughing of the field, the feast is considered a good investment, because the gods, pleased by the gay and colourful spectacle, are expected to repay the donor with a plentiful harvest.

The race is held in a flooded ricefield between rival teams of specially trained bulls. The oxen are crowned with ornaments of tooled gilt leather, and silk banners decorate their yokes. Enormous wooden bells, often three feet across, are attached to their necks. Bets are placed as the contending teams are lined up with their drivers standing on the rakes to which the bulls are hitched. At a signal from the referee, they are off with a speed one does not usually associate with ploughing oxen. The yelling drivers, on the rakes that glide along the mud, whip and entice the bulls to run across the field, always with an elegant gait. Their heads are raised high, forced up by the great thumping bells, giving them an added elegance. However fast they may run, the referee gives his decision not to the fastest, but to the team with the most stately bearing.

It is typical of the Balinese to place style before mere physical speed.

When the field is prepared, the mother-seed, which has been picked from the largest and most beautiful ears, is soaked for two days and two nights, then spread on a mat and sprinkled with water until the germ breaks through. A nursery plot is prepared in a corner of the field to receive the young sprouts, which must be planted on a propitious day set by the religious calendar. They remain in the nursery for about two months; then when they have developed enough, they are pulled out, washed, pruned, tied in bunches, and exposed to the air for one night. By this time the sawas are clean and ready to receive the young plants; offerings (*sudjuk*) to Dewi Sri are made again and the owner of the sawa,

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243 527 When the grain is ripe, the *subak* members prepare for the *ng'usaba nini*, the great harvest festival. Cockfights are held again in the rice temple and the following day is declared *nyepi* for ricefields: a day of absolute stillness, requiring the suspension of all activity, when no one may enter a field under penalty of a fine. Two days before cutting the rice, small offerings are made to the irrigation inlet, and boughs of the *dapdap* tree, decorated with little faces of palm-leaf, are stuck at the four corners of the field to keep evil influences away. The next step is the making [782] of the Rice Mother (*nini pantun*), two sheaves of rice, one male, the other female, the Rice Husband and Wife.[2] The two sheaves are fastened together and tied to a branch, which is stuck in the ground near the main irrigation inlet. Then the cutting of the rice may proceed.

[462] [292] In Bali only men plant and attend to the rice, but women and even children help with the harvest. Everybody wears coats and great sun-hats of bamboo for protection against the burning rays of the sun. The line of reapers moves like a living row of enormous mushrooms, cutting the rice with small iron blades set in wooden frames, just large enough to be hidden in the palm of the hand. The stalks are cut one by one and tied later into huge bunches. When all the rice is cut, the Rice Mothers of the [292] various *sawa*-owners are dressed in a skirt of new white cloth held at the middle of the sheaf by a rope of white yarn, a small apron (*lamak*), and a silk scarf. The head-dress is represented by the ends of the stalks, ornamented with flowers and cut-out palm-leaf in the form of a fan, often with a human face added, drawn on a heart-shaped piece of palm.

[184] [2] The male is larger and consists of 108 stalks, while the female has only 54 stalks. The people of Badung agree that the sheaves are male and female, but in Ubud, Gianyar, they claim it is only female. They also make two sheaves, one larger than the other, but they are confused when pressed to explain the reason for the two sheaves. They call the *nini pantun* also by the names of *dewa padi* or *dewi istri*, "rice deity" or "divine wife." *Nini pantun* means simply "rice mother." Perhaps the association of feminine names and ideas has obscured the bisexual significance of the two sheaves. Van Eck says that the Rice Husband and Wife are ceremoniously wedded in the granary: "Increase ye and multiply without ceasing." I was told in Gianyar that the rice stalks used to make the mother should be stolen from various ricefields, but in Badung they appeared shocked at this idea.

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We witnessed a harvest festival in Ubud: the dressed Rice Mothers were ceremoniously assembled in the little rice temple out in the fields, decorated for the occasion with pennants

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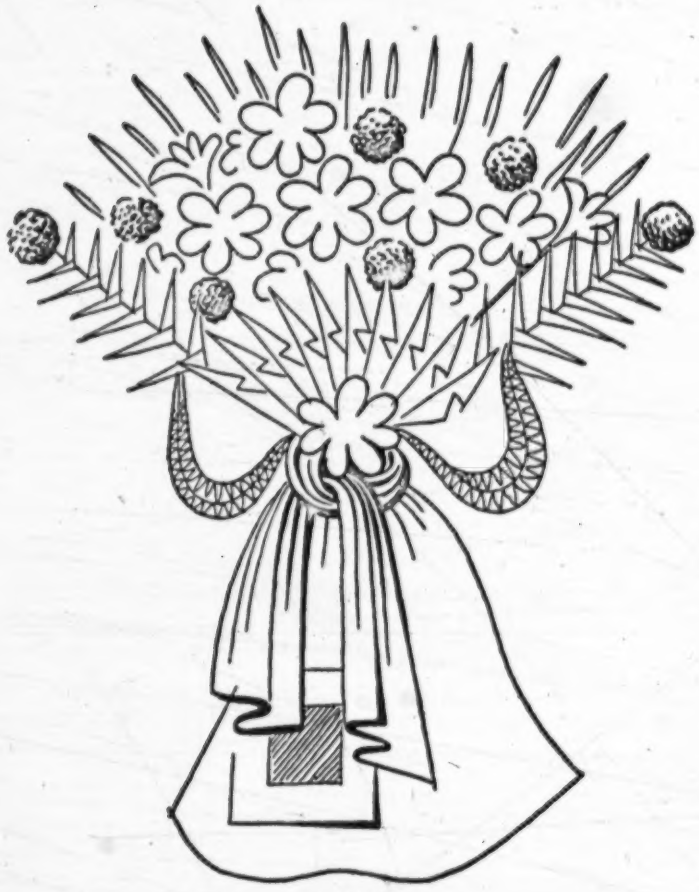

Rice Mother

(*penyor*) – tall bamboo poles hung with lacy ornaments of palm-leaf – and with beautiful *lamaks*, strips many feet long, made of the young yellow leaves of the coconut or sugar palm pinned together with bits of bamboo, covered with delicate patterns

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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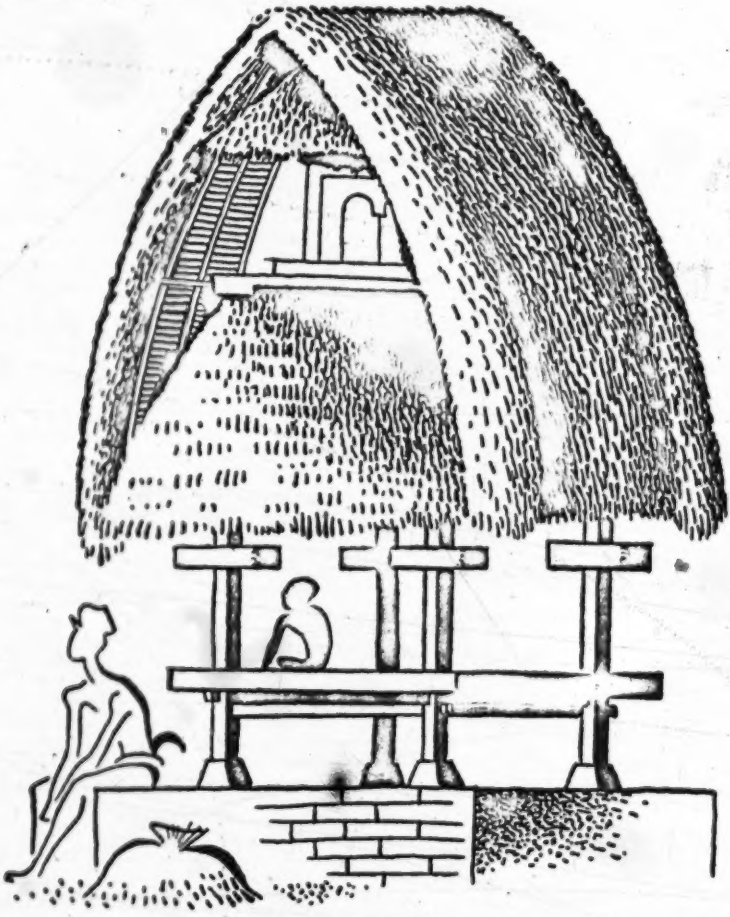
243 527 778 531 representing moons, stylized girls, trees, and so forth, cut out of the mature leaves of palm, dark green lace against a background of lemon yellow.

[343]



A Granary (*Lumbung*)

243 527 782 The crowd started for the village in a long procession with music. The women carried the offerings and the Rice Mothers on their heads. The men wore hats freshly woven of coconut

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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leaf, bristling with flowers and ferns. The parade stopped at the village temple, where the decorated sheaves were blessed by the temple guardian. This ceremony was called *mendak nini*, "to bring back the Mother." Each family took its Rice Mother to its own granary, which was also decorated with *penyors* and *lamaks* to receive it. The Rice Mothers were deposited on cushions on special wooden thrones inside the granaries, and I was told that they would remain there until eaten by rats. Not even famine could justify eating the rice of the *nini*; whoever ate the Rice Mother would be considered as low as a dog. After the ceremony the cut rice was brought home to be stored in the granary until needed.

The rice granaries (called according to size and shape *lumbung*, *glebeg*, *djinan*, *klumpu*, and *klimking* in the order of their importance) are a good indication of the economic status of a family. They are tall buildings with steep, high roofs of thatch resembling the Melanesian yam houses in shape. A granary is supported by four wooden pillars with wide circular capitals to prevent rats from climbing up. Custom demands respectful handling of rice. It must be fetched in silence and only in the daytime. A person who climbs into a granary should be in a normal state of physical and spiritual health and may not chew betel-nut.

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR

In Bali one may see a woman laying bricks or breaking stones to pave a road, or find men in the market in Den Pasar sitting at their sewing-machines making blouses for women, but it would be unthinkable for a woman to paint a picture or to climb a coconut tree; a man would be disgraced if seen performing work that is the perquisite of women.

The labour allotted to each sex is sharply defined; all heavy work requiring manly attributes — agriculture, building in wood or thatch, the care of cattle — as well as most of the trades and crafts, such as carpentry, wood- and stone-carving, painting, writ-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

The artist is in Bali essentially a craftsman and at the same time an amateur, casual and anonymous, who uses his talent knowing that no one will care to record his name for posterity. His only aim is to serve his community, seeing that the work is well done when he is called to embellish the temple of the village, or when he carves his neighbour's gate in exchange for a new roof or some other similar service. Actors and musicians play for the feasts of the village without pay, and when they perform for private festivals they are lavishly entertained and banqueted instead. Foreigners have to pay a good amount for a performance: from five to thirty guilders according to the quality of the show and the pretensions of the actors; but a Balinese who calls the village's orchestra or a troupe of actors for a home festival provides special food, refreshments, *sirih*, and cigarettes for them. If he pays a small amount besides, from a guilder to five, it is not considered as remuneration, but rather as a present to help the finances of the musical or theatrical club. Whatever money they receive goes to the funds of the association to cover the expenses of the feasts given by the club or to buy new costumes or instruments.

Nothing in Bali is made for posterity; the only available stone is a soft sandstone that crumbles away after a few years, and the temples and reliefs have to be renewed constantly; white ants devour the wooden sculptures, and the humidity rots away all paper and cloth, so their arts have never suffered from fossilization. The Balinese are extremely proud of their traditions, but they are also progressive and unconservative, and when a foreign idea strikes their fancy, they adopt it with great enthusiasm as their own. All sorts of influences from the outside, Indian, Chinese, Javanese, have left their mark on Balinese art, but they are always translated into their own manner and they become strongly Balinese in the process.

Thus the lively Balinese art is in constant flux. What becomes the rage for a while may be suddenly abandoned and forgotten when a new fashion is invented, new styles in music or in the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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CHAPTER VIII

THE DRAMA

No feast is complete in Bali without music and elaborate dramatic and dance performances; no one would dream of getting married, or holding a cremation, or even of celebrating a child's birthday, without engaging troupes of dancers and actors to entertain the guests and the neighbours. During the anniversary feasts of the temple there are always dances that last throughout the night and may even continue for days, with a different type of show every afternoon and night. At the great feast of Taman Badung, the death temple of Den Pasar, there were shows every night for an entire month. 527 53

The Balinese love night-life and it was rare when after ten at night someone did not come to us with news of a show somewhere, or when we did not hear distant music in the village. We became such enthusiastic theatre-goers that we had, sometimes, to make a point of staying home to catch up with lost sleep. Even the tired peasant who works all day in the fields does not mind staying up at night to watch a show, and the little children who invariably make up the front rows of the audience remain there until dawn for the end, occasionally huddled together taking naps, but wide awake for the exciting episodes of the play. 536 [857]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

535 The legs, however, are used with a minimum of importance in the dance, except for locomotion, and in certain sitting dances like the *kebiyar* are not used at all. It is said that such movements [857] are possible only because of the extreme youth of the dancers. It is true that a *legong* dancer retires at twelve or thirteen, or perhaps continues in another type of dance, and that a fully grown girl is often considered too big to dance, but there are old women [888] who are fine dancers and a good *baris* performer is usually a man past middle age. A solo dance often lasts more than an hour, and even children can dance incessantly for long periods of time without showing traces of exhaustion. This resistance often amazes travellers, but the Balinese explain that the dancer is unconscious of the real work and falls into a sort of self-induced trance where only the rhythm of the dance exists, and the dancer then moves in a world where fatigue is unknown. *Legong* dancers are very popular in the community; they are looked upon as people out of the ordinary and are exempt from heavy work. They have many suitors, and a prince frequently marries a *legong* dancer as soon as she becomes of age.

545 527 535 When a society has enough money for costumes and the dancers are ready to make a public appearance, the village association, on an auspicious day, gives an inauguration festival (*malaspasin*) [545] [782]. The costumes are blessed before they can be worn for the first time, and the group makes offerings to launch the new organization successfully. An actor, a dancer, or a story-teller undergoes the same ceremony by which a priest or magician adds power to his soul. In the case of a dancer the ceremony is a magic purification and beautification in which a priest with the stem of a flower inscribes magic syllables on the face, head, tongue, and members of the future dancer to make him attractive to the eyes of his public. It is not only on this occasion that dancers pray for 535 782 success; before every performance they make small offerings to [776] the deities of the dance, Dewa Pergina, and to the nymphs of heaven, the *dedari* Supraba and Tilotama. In the temple *Mer-* [778] *tasari* in Semawang (near Sanur) there is a small stone shrine

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

dead and not yet cremated, who exist therefore in a sort of limbo between earth and heaven, a share of the viands is set aside that they may not return to molest their living relatives.

At intervals of 210 days every individual, every household, every temple site, celebrates an "anniversary." The year has actually twice this length, or 420 days, but because events are reckoned not by date, but by a conjunction of a position in a five-day week and a seven-day week, together with a specific month, in Bali birthdays and other anniversaries happily come around twice a year. From year to year the seasons do not correspond to any given month, but this is of no importance. People's ages are not reckoned. The parents of a three year old child cannot tell you within a year or two how old it is. But everyone knows on what day of the calendar his birthday falls, and on what day the anniversary of his household temple, and of every temple of the village to which he belongs.

All of these are occasions for a festival. In the cycle of six months of 35 days (which must pass to bring around again the calendrical conjunction) a household may celebrate half a dozen birthdays, a festival in the house-temple, and three, four, or five large temple feasts in which their fellow members of the village participate. Weddings, tooth-filings, and cremations are extra occasions for festivities. And once in 210 days the whole population joins in the holiday season called "*galoengan*," when for ten days the gods are invited to come down to earth, the villages are decorated, plays, processions, and musical entertainments are given in their honor, the whole island dresses up and goes visiting, and nobody does any more "*work*" than is strictly necessary. I italicize *work* here, to carry the meaning of work for a livelihood, for all the activities connected with temple ritual are also called "work," *karja*, in the high language.

The temples of Bali are holy sites on which stand the houses of the gods. But these houses are uninhabited the greater part of the time. The Balinese believe that the abode of the gods is upon the mountain, and that only at special times and by special invitation will they come down to stay for a few days in these, their earthly residences. It is customary for the gods of each temple to come down for their visit on each of the bi-yearly anniversaries, but as a rule a more elaborate feast is given for them on one of these bi-yearly occasions than on the other. The bigger feast is called *odalan*, the smaller *sepian*, or *sepèn*; and in some areas both are called *odalan*, the larger distinguished by the term *odalan pedoedoesan*. Once a year comes the island-wide observance of the Day of Silence, *njepi*,[2] when the villagers stay in their houses, the fires are put

[2] See Mead's description of *njepi* in Bateson and Mead, 1942, pp. 1—3. Note also that where the word *sepian* or *sepèn* occurs for the smaller festival, these terms also indicate a silence and an emptiness, from the root *sepi-*, which becomes *njepi* for the active form.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

as the great festival at Bali's head temple, Besakih, both Sivaite and Buddhist high priests may be present and officiating simultaneously.

Temples. Temples in Bali are sites rather than buildings. They are places where the supernatural is dealt with. Often prescriptions for giving offerings will run "at temple A, at temple B, at temple C, at the crossroads, at the graveyard, at the market place, at the spring . . ." Temples consist of one or more courtyards, open to the sky, surrounded by a wall, and containing small shrines and buildings. These buildings are known as *balé*, the very old Malayo-Polynesian word for house (*balé*, Balinese, house, raised platform, platform covered with a roof, place for ceremonial seating; cf. contemporary Polynesian, *falé*, house; contemporary Malay, *balai*, hall of audience). There are *balés* for the setting out of the gods, for the preparation and laying out of offerings, for the orchestra. There is also, in every temple, a kitchen (*paon*). The space immediately outside the gate of the outermost court is a broad cleared space, called the *djaban poera* (outside of the temple) which is ceremonially important. It is here that the "reception of the gods" and the "send off of the gods" take place at festival time. It is here that offerings are spread for demons so that they will remain without and not enter the temple courts. It is here that cock fights are held, ceremonially important for the spilling of blood. And the secular dances and dramatic plays which accompany the calendric festivals are staged in this outer space, often in the shade of an enormous banyan tree (*waringin, bingin*).

In the inner court, a line of greater and smaller shrines are arranged close to the rearmost wall and down one or both sides. Though the priest is able to give the names of the Hinduistic gods or the historically known personages to whom these shrines have at one time or another been erected, the people who give offerings at the temple are often not able to. Or the names given will be simple Balinese terms like "He who owns the courtyard" (*Medocwé Karang*). If it is, or has been, a court temple, there will be shrines for the various court officials such as The Secretary (*Penjarikan*), and The Recorder of Births (*Ngerocrah*). It is believed that the throne to the Sun (*Surya*), which is generally set across the corner of the court to the holiest side, mountainward east (*kadja kangin*), the other buildings being squarely and not transversely arranged, may have been added to the temples at a later date than their founding. In many it is absent. It would be possible at any time for a new shrine to be added in the temple simply by someone's going into trance and uttering the gods' wish for the new shrine to be set up. It has been remarked that, if Jesus Christ should come to Bali, the Balinese would put up one more shrine to Him in their temples.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

to give them shelter in his house, since they have no longer any house of their own [1]).

I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir, after forty-two days of exile, were now free to enter the village. They walked slowly and with dignity down the street where their old house had stood, each carrying a "twin" and each firmly grasping a knife with an onion impaled. There was no greeting from the villagers, nor any sign of joy or sadness on the faces of the parents. Before they reached the site of their house, twenty yards away down the street, mats were spread for them. There they must sit and wait in the street for perhaps three hours, while the ceremony *malik sumpah* would take place -- the ceremony of turning off the curse which was upon them, but in which for the time they had no part.

Immediately opposite the entrance to the house-court the feast for the villagers was going on. Many men sat cross-legged on the *balé's*, enjoying their portion of rice and succulent morsels of meat. In the roadway pits had been dug for roasting, and ducks, chickens, pigs and sausages were being given a final turn on the spit. The villagers who had witnessed the ceremonies outside the village now had their share of the feast.

The Sĕngguhu priest now took his place on a mat spread amongst the offerings on the site of the old house. Before

[1]) The Balian did not give the obvious explanation that the parents had to burn their house three times lest they might bring a curse upon the house in which they would live. If there were any chance of disaster accompanying them no villager would receive them into his house. A lontar from Tonjă states that if anything is lacking in the ceremony twins may be born three times in succession. I did not find anywhere else in Bali the custom of burning two small *kubu's* after the real one. But in general the case does not come up that the parents must be given hospitality in another house, for the village plan of Sukawanä differs from the usual village made up of individual family courtyards. The usual Balinese house consists of several separate buildings, and only the *balé pĕgat* or the *mĕtèn* where the children are born must be torn down and burned ... sometimes not even that. So that the parents on their return still have other buildings to inhabit in their own housecourt, and are not obliged to seek hospitality elsewhere.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

*845 184 years. These villages lie in the districts of Dèn Pasar, Tabanan, Mèngwi, Gianyar, Klungkung, Bangli, Kintamani and Bulèlèng. I have read lontars prescribing the ritual and special taboos applying to each of these districts except Kintamani. The contents of those lontars which it was possible to transcribe are given in Part IV. Of course the villages of a certain district will not necessarily follow the dictates of a lontar found in that district, but are more apt to go by their own individual rulings, referring to the authority of the texts in the possession of the priests only in case of difficulty or uncertainty. On account of the autonomic system of village law, the differences are innumerable, but there are some points on which most of the villages agree. The order followed in Sukawană, described above, is as typical as any, if it be remembered that in such an old and isolated village the ceremonies are fuller, the offerings greater, and prescriptions more strictly adhered to than they are in villages more subject to influence from the outside.

Among the major differences in the custom of the various villages, is that of the time of expulsion of the twins with their parents. This is generally forty-two days, but in Trunyan (at the Batur lake) three months of thirty five days, as it is also in the rules of the Sĕngguhu nabé (teacher) of Pĕjatèn, near Tabanan. In an old lontar from Bulèlèng the time is stated as three *tilĕm*, or dark moons. There is also the question whether the three *galungan* (yearly festivals) following the birth may or may not be celebrated. We shall see later that the lontars do not agree on this point. In certain villages, as in Kĕtèwèl (district Ubud, near the South shore), the sacred vessels for holy water kept in the temples must be overturned (*choblong mĕlingĕb*), and the temple gates closed up with thorny branches, so that the gods will not enter there and become contaminated during the time that the village is *sĕbĕl*. According to a Padandă from Sanur, and to a lontar from Tabanan, signs (*sawèn*) of the thorny pandanus must be put up before each household entrance gate.

[527]

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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many hundreds of years static, it has been possible for these laws to grow up, to be sifted and tested over a long period, until they have reached a code eminently suitable to the people whom they govern. For this reason it becomes easy for the child to take over the ways of his elders—the more forcibly impressed upon him because of the weight of tradition behind them, and the fear of transgressing the laws which have been shown by experience to be acceptable to the ever-present gods and demons. Actually the child is afforded no choice at all under the sanction of the community. He has only to obey the prescriptions of tradition to become an adult happily adjusted to the life which is his. And if the child is a girl, she begins very early to feel how her rôle is differentiated from that of a boy. The women accept without rancor the rôle of an inferior. It is simply that they have their being on a different plane from the men. In a society with so many stratifications, that of age within the family, of rank and of relative wealth as between families, the place of woman as an inferior is not seen as a hardship. The system of stratification works smoothly, as a rule, and all those individuals who conform to it seem happy. It is a part of the very order which gives to the life of the Balinese its stability.

When the Rules May Be Broken

The Balinese way of life even provides an organized release from the rigid code, times when individuals who feel the need of it may break almost all the rules of decorum. These are the occasions of intense and fevered group activity. There is no space here to describe these manifestations in detail, and a few examples of what I mean must suffice. In the prolonged and enthusiastic rehearsals of musicians, actors, and dancers, when all work together in a group, no attention is paid to relative rank, and a performer of noble birth takes his place in equality with the group—he sits on a level with his social inferiors, and bows to their will in matters of artistic production, if their talent be superior to his. At communal feasts men who are accustomed to eating in private gather in groups to partake of the unusual viands and delicacies which they have prepared. Here the taboos do not quite break down, for although they regale themselves with relish, no conversation is allowed between the members feasting together. At the celebration of cremations, several hundred men together cast off their habitual carefully poised bearing, and taking up the body of their friend, or the tower which is to convey

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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him to the cremation place, they shout, they leap, they lift their arms in threatening gestures, they whirl around and around in a mass of vigorously stamping, kicking, and entangled limbs, falling down, trampling upon their fellows, hurling themselves into a pool of mud and besplattering each other with howls of glee. Again, a group of villagers wishing to divine the will of the gods goes into trance—tears stream down the face of a young girl, a woman sobs hysterically, an old man trembles as in an ague, a youth with rolling eyes and thrashing limbs tries to force burning coals into his mouth. Or in a ceremony for the propitiation of the King of Demons, in the form of a grotesque figure of a lion, a group of men and boys clusters about, shouting, prancing, pressing with all the strength of both arms the point of a kris into their own naked chests. One holds the handle of the weapon on the ground, with the point upward, and hurls his body upon it, throwing both feet in the air so that he will strike with all his weight. The term *riboet*, a Malay word meaning "storm," is applied to a group in such an excited state. Acting under the powerful stimulus of mass-emotion, each man forgets to be cautious, to be dignified, to be afraid. The minor fears of pain and bodily disturbance are for the time forgotten. When the frenzy is carried to the pitch of trance, the Balinese is to a great extent in a state of anaesthesia, able to dance upon hot coals or to wound himself with a dagger (although they themselves say that if the trance is sufficiently deep the flesh will resist the dagger and no wound will be sustained). But even without trance, every individual who participates in the excitement is free to break the rules without experiencing fear or shame for his unusual behavior. He is secure in the consciousness that he is one of many, that the crowd moves as he does.

It has seemed necessary to mention, however briefly, these forms of activity which are in sharp contrast to the slow deliberate tempo, the quiet dignity and balanced equilibrium of the habitual movements. For the Balinese at their daily tasks lead a life of reserved, steady—almost plodding—application to hard labor, made easier by the absolute lack of tension or of any pressure from the sense of time, and by the rhythmic flow of their motions interspersed with suitable periods of rest. But this existence, they say, is dull and lonely without festivals and celebrations. Luckily their religion provides many occasions for celebration, and at these times the people burst forth in a riot of true *fun*, when all together they adorn them-

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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selves, they take part with enthusiasm in the elaborate preparation of offerings and the decoration of the temples, they enjoy to the utmost presentations of dancing, music, and drama, which the religion prescribes. It is significant that the audience for these presentations takes as much delight in them as the performers. Their own arts are to them completely satisfying, a fulfillment in the life of the people for whom they have been evolved. At such festivals one is impressed by the joyousness, the gayety with which the Balinese seem carried away. And just as these joyous occasions punctuate the dreary round of everyday life, so do the occasions of wild frenzy break into it, affording the individual a necessary release. If it were not for these organized departures from the habitual tempo, it would not be possible for the individual to conform, at all other times, to the rigid order of behavior which is exacted from him. And therefore we must recognize the two aspects, the quiet, relaxed, and peaceful tenor of the private life, and the intense and spontaneous exaltation of group activity, both of which are essential to the Balinese temper.

Interpretation

In conclusion, perhaps it will be well to stress once more the ease and relaxation in the ordinary behavior of the Balinese, so that an impression will not be left that any strain is caused by need to maintain a balanced equilibrium and a perfect orientation in social and geographical respects. On the contrary, the rules by which they abide seem to supply a simplication of behavior. For the Balinese life is divided into two phases quite opposed to those of the modern city dweller in our world; the Balinese works in relaxation, and in his pleasure finds intense stimulation, whereas our city dweller works under a strain of intense stimulation, and for his pleasure seeks relaxation. If there should be any doubt of the difference in tension between the two psychological types, let us imagine how the city dweller would react to certain conditions in Balinese life, as, for instance, living in a courtyard shared by ten or fifteen members of his immediate family, divided only by pavilions without walls; or sleeping in such close proximity as has been described, with a number of others; or enjoying a dramatic performance lasting for eight or nine hours, crouched in a press of bodies comparable only to one of our subway jams. These things do not offend nor put any strain upon the Balinese, because of the relaxation of his mood. Likewise

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

52 *mimi* or *mimi mintuna* crabs or pairing crabs. The two crablike figures are considered inseparable and symbolize sexual union[21]. 783* 778 825

When these crabs are found in a rice field a purificatory offering no less elaborate than that required when a ricefield is defiled by the presence of a human or animal corpse — must be made to the gods.[22]

In this connection it is also to be noted that a temple is made unclean by the presence of *lulut* worms — the word *lulut* means closely attached, enamoured — a species of earth worms which are always found linked together in the form of a chain.[23]

53 *pras* an offering consisting of a roasted chicken laid between heaped servings of rice and groundnuts. In the *pamangku* rituals the *pras* is always listed together with and preceding *panjěněng* (No 41).

54 Unknown to my informants in Ubud; nor could any information be obtained from the market women in Den Pasar.

55 *padang lěpas* a type of grass, which also figures amongst the components of the *lis* (No 28). A representation of *padang lěpas* is also made in dough.

56 *sikěpan* weapons or emblems; an earthenware plate embellished with the *sikěpan* or *sanjata* of the gods of the four directions — the *bajra* (thunderbolt) of Iswara in the East, the *guda* (club) of Brahma in the South, the *(naga)-pasa* (snake)arrow of Mahadéwa in the West, and the *cakra* (discus) of Wisnu in the North. The *sikěpan* also occur as an offering made in dough, and again from palm leaf as a component part of the *lis sanjata*. In the offering of dough the form and the associated colours of the various weapons[24], are correctly reproduced, but the positions are often confused in the clay version. 783* 778 796 823

These symbols of the *nawa-sanga* appear on offerings at ritual festivities, such as *otonan*, birthday celebration, *nělu bulanin*, the celebration held when a child is three months old, *makěrab*, marriage ceremony, *ma-gidong-gidong*, the ceremony prior to the birth of a child, *odalan*, temple festivities and *ngabèn*, funerary ritual. [527] [796] [764]

I consider it improbable that the *nawa sanga* symbols have any particular significance in relation to the funerary ritual.[25]

57 Designation unknown; a representation of the *pras* (No 53) is recognizable at the base. 783* 778

[21] Cf. remarks above on the *lilit linting* as component No. 15 of the *lis*.

[22] *Dukuh Bangul*, K 1861 I. 3a.

[23] Cf. J. L. Swellengrebel, *Korawāçrama, een Oud-Javaansch Proza-geschrift, uitgegeven, vertaald en toegelicht*, doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, 1936, p. 93, in which it is stated that the *sakti* received by the God Guna from the gods is derived in part from the *lulut* worms stretched across the roadways.

[24] P. H. Pott, *Yoga en Yantra in hunne beteekenis voor de Indische Archaeologie*, doctoral thesis, University of Leiden, Brill, Leiden, 1946, p. 148, Pl. XV.

[25] Pott, op. cit., considers that the *nawa-sanga* symbol is closely related to the funerary ritual.